CHURCH AND CHAPEL IN PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST HAMPSHIRE, 1660-1850

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About this Portsmouth Paper

Over the last 40 years a major revision has taken place in the writing of the religious history of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One of the leading participants in this revisionism, Nigel Yates, looks at the surviving evidence from diocesan, parish and congregational records in Portsmouth and the adjacent parts of south-east Hampshire, to examine how effective religious institutions were in this part of England between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries. He sets this local study into the context of what was happening at a national level and indicates those areas in which the local evidence reflects the national picture, and those in which there were differences between this part of England and other parts of the country in this period. The paper concludes with a critical bibliography of recent works on the post-Reformation religious history of England.

Front cover:
St Mary's church, Kingston, Portsea, before rebuilding in 1843; a watercolour by the Portsmouth artist Richard Ubsdell.
(721/1945)

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Church and Chapel in Portsmouth and South-East Hampshire, 1660-1850

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Farlington church, typical of several small rural churches in south-east Hampshire. This watercolour was painted by R.H.Ubsdell in 1841.
(419/1945/21)

Introduction

The religious census that took place on 30 March 1851 revealed two important trends in religious observance that proved to be extremely discomforting to the established Church of England. The first was that, across England and Wales as a whole, only about half the population were regular churchgoers. The second was that, of those who went to church, only about half attended the services of the Church of England. The established church could therefore only count on the active support of a quarter of the population, though this disguised some strong regional differences, with support for the established church being weakest in Cornwall, Wales and parts of the industrial north and Midlands, and strongest across the southern counties from Devon to Kent. An older generation of historians attributed this weakness of the established church to its moribund state in the years since its re-establishment, with the restoration of the monarchy, in 1660, but in the last 40 years this interpretation of events has been vigorously challenged and a very different picture has begun to emerge; one which places the reasons for Anglican weakness by the middle of the nineteenth century not so much on the inadequacies of the established church as on the cultural and social trends within society which encouraged both support for religious non-conformity and a growing indifference to the more formal expressions of religious belief.

The aim of this paper is to look at the development of both the Church of England and other religious bodies in the area now covered by the Anglican rural deaneries of Fareham, Gosport, Havant and Portsmouth in the period between 1660 and 1850, and to see to what extent these developments support or differ from the redrawn national picture presented by revisionist historians. The first section of this paper therefore begins by looking at this national picture and it is supported by a guide to further reading that draws attention to the important work that has been published over the last 40 years. It is designed to provide a background to a more detailed study of events and trends in the Portsmouth area and to set these in a national context. The remaining sections of the paper deal in some detail with the local evidence and are referenced in the customary manner in the notes at the end of the paper. The overall trends in the Portsmouth area are then analysed in the conclusion and comparisons made with trends elsewhere, in an attempt to evaluate their significance both for the later religious history of these communities and in the overall context of English religious history between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The National Background

The British civil wars of the 1640s and the interregnum of the 1650s had been, to a large extent, the result of religious differences stemming from the Reformation of the sixteenth century. After several changes of policy between the 1530s and the 1560s, the Church of England had eventually adopted, in its doctrinal formularies and its liturgy, a modified version of Calvinism, though it had retained most of the administrative structure of the late pre-Reformation church. The Puritan lobby within the Church of England wanted to adopt a more full-bodied Calvinism, including the abolition or, at the very least, moderation of episcopacy, but by the early seventeenth century the leadership of the Church of England had moved in precisely the opposite direction, finally rejecting Calvinism, increasing ceremonial and developing a new theology of the church-state relationship built around a belief in the divine nature of the monarchy. The victory of the Puritan party in the English civil wars led to the temporary suspension of the episcopate and the Anglican liturgy but the religious confusion that followed was a strong element in the successful campaign for the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Those who had brought about this restoration wanted a restored Church of England to be as comprehensive as possible and many of the more moderate Puritans agreed to accept the religious settlement and new *Book of Common Prayer* in 1662. Some of the more radical Puritans, however, were unable to do so and a number of Puritan clergy were ejected from their parishes. Ejected clergy and their supporters set up their own religious meetings, which were eventually granted a reasonable degree of toleration. The other religious group excluded from the Church of England were those who had remained Roman Catholics (usually termed recusants) at the Reformation, of which there were small but socially significant groups, mostly landed families and their tenants and servants, in different parts of England and Wales, including south-east Hampshire. Though Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters were excluded from political life until the 1820s, they were able to worship freely from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and to build their own chapels provided they exercised discretion and avoided ostentation in so doing.

Although the close bond that had developed between the monarchy and the Church of England under James I and Charles I, both of whom had used the bishops as their political agents, was not restored in quite the same form in 1660, the Anglican theologies of divine monarchy and union between the ecclesiastical and political establishments remained in place throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Indeed they were still sufficiently strong in the 1820s and 1830s

St Mary's Chapel, in St Mary's Street, Old Portsmouth, later known as Highbury St, was designed by Thomas Ellis Owen and constructed in 1837-9.
(177/1964)

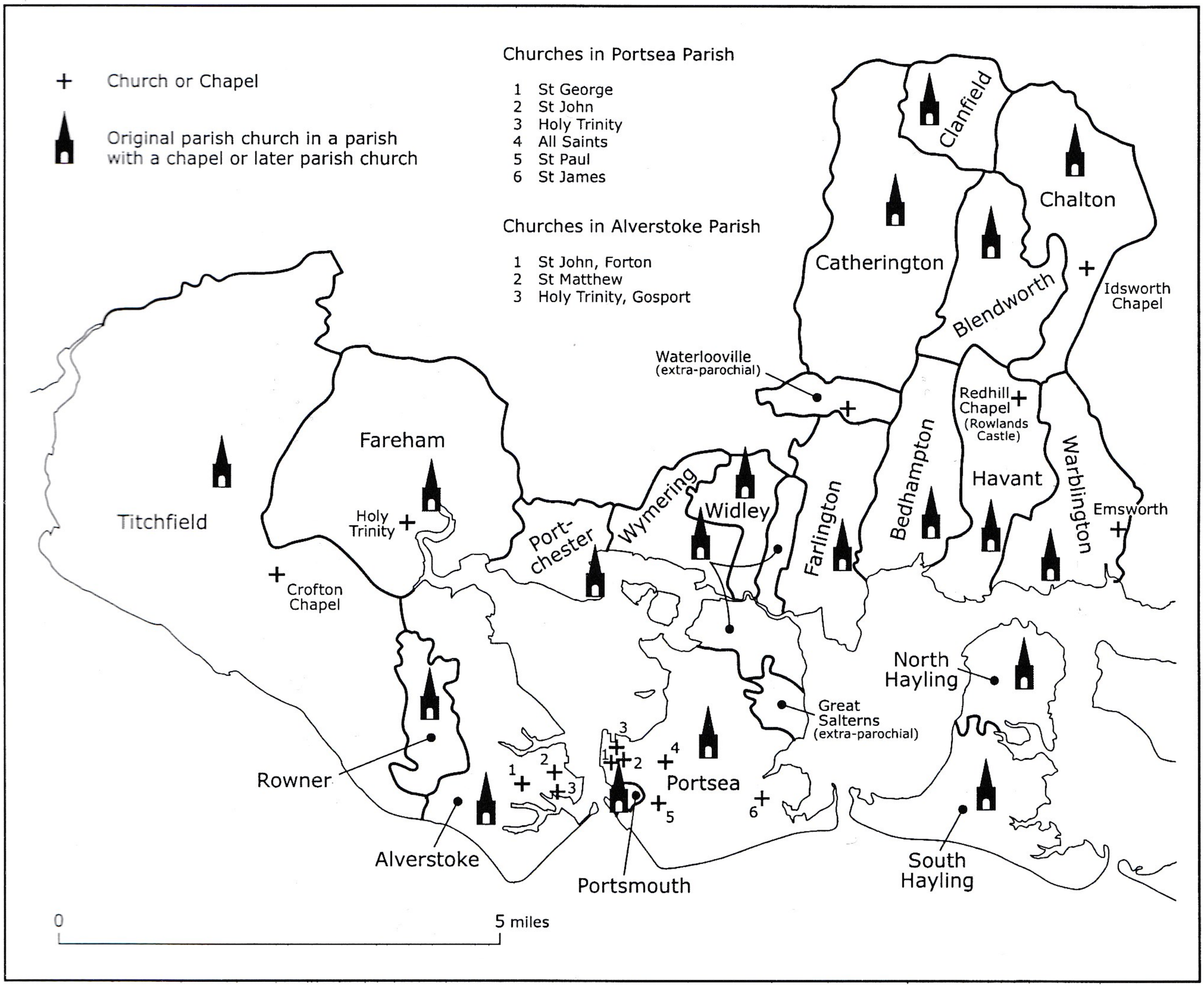
The east end of the original Church of St James, Milton, designed by the local architect Augustus Livesay and opened in 1841. This photo was taken not long before the present church was begun in 1910.
(Reproduced by permission of the Portsmouth Diocesan Board of Finance, CHU 47/2c/22/9)

for some Anglican clergy and laity to see many of the political and religious reforms of these decades as a deliberate attempt by the government to undermine and marginalize the Church of England and to sabotage the whole basis of Anglican theology. This theology, however, whilst a strength in some respects was a weakness in others, since it served to prevent the church from being able to respond as flexibly as it might otherwise have done to some of the major cultural and social changes that were taking place. The pre-Reformation administrative structure that the Church of England had inherited, and which it could not change without parliamentary legislation, had been designed for a predominantly rural society in which there were few large towns. From the late seventeenth century, however, the towns began to grow and the countryside to shrink, as the financial basis of society moved from agriculture to commerce and industry. The Church of England was unable to respond satisfactorily to these substantial movements in population and the creation of major new industrial towns and the growth of suburbia.

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the whole of Protestant Europe was deeply influenced by a new religious movement, variously termed pietism or evangelicalism, which emphasised the need for personal conversion as essential to salvation. The leadership of the Church of England, with its inherited memory of the disasters caused by the religious divisions of the seventeenth century, was distrustful of such religious enthusiasm and sought, unsuccessfully, to control it. Evangelicalism was a growing movement within the Church of England from the 1730s but many of its supporters, frustrated by the hostility of the bishops and other senior figures within both the ecclesiastical and political establishments, felt that they had to withdraw from the established church in order to worship as they wanted to. In England they included such bodies as the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and the Wesleyan Methodists.

The survival of the Church of England's pre-Reformation structure led to a number of perceived abuses in the eighteenth century, chief of which were pluralism and non-residence. In fact many of these problems have been misunderstood. During the nineteenth century there was a dramatic change in the way in which the clergy of the Church of England felt about their role in society, and what had been seen as a profession in the eighteenth century began to be seen as a vocation. The new breed of clergy were highly critical of their predecessors and exaggerated their inadequacies. Recent research has shown that the alleged evils of pluralism and non-residence have been greatly exaggerated. Clergy were technically pluralists if they held more than one benefice, with or without cure of souls, and non-resident if they did not live in their own parish or even if they lived in a house other than the parsonage house. Since a number of parishes had no parsonage houses some clergy were obliged to be non-resident even if they were living near enough to their churches to carry out all their duties without difficulty. Many pluralists were clergy serving adjacent small parishes, in a way that has become increasingly common in the Church of England since the Second World War. The number of what tend to be termed 'career pluralists', that is clergy holding widely separated benefices as a means of boosting their incomes and employing curates to carry out the duties on their behalf, was very small indeed. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a number of reforming bishops made it their business to improve diocesan administration and the standards of pastoral care within their dioceses; steps were taken to rebuild and restore existing churches and to erect new ones, to increase the number of services, to regulate plurality and non-residence so as to modify its worst abuses, to establish rural deaneries so as to create a system of middle management for the clergy, to encourage the establishment of schools and charities for the relief of poverty. Many of these church-inspired reforms were overlooked in

Parish boundaries and Anglican churches in south-east Hampshire before 1851.



the divisions that occurred within the Church of England, and between clergy and laity, over the state-inspired reform legislation of the 1820s and 1830s.

The Evangelical Revival, and the secessions from the Church of England that followed, had a rejuvenating effect on the older bodies of Protestant dissent, which had remained very small before the late eighteenth century and were confined largely to the towns. It was the expansion of 'old dissent', and the addition of 'new dissent', that produced the high nonconformist figures in the religious census of 1851. It also led to demands for the removal of the remaining restrictions on dissenters and for the reform, even the disestablishment, of the Church of England. The government responded by repealing the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, thus enabling dissenters to take up political office, and granting full political emancipation to Roman Catholics in 1829. In the 1830s the government set up an Ecclesiastical Commission, with both ecclesiastical and political members, to undertake the administrative reform of the Church of England; dioceses were re-organised, the surplus revenues of the cathedrals used to augment poor benefices and much more stringent regulations introduced in respect of pluralities and non-residence. The opposition of some Anglican high-churchmen to measures that they believed might ultimately lead to disestablishment, even though they never did so, produced the reaction known as the Oxford Movement. This, combined with the medievalist movement of the early nineteenth century, led eventually to the growth of ecclesiology and ritualism within the Church of England, and later still within the nonconformist churches as well, though neither of these developments had any significant impact on south-east Hampshire until after 1850.

It is against this background that the events described in the remainder of this paper have to be set and evaluated. The study that follows is based on the substantial archive resources of the 18 ancient parishes within the rural deaneries of Fareham, Gosport, Havant and Portsmouth, together with those of their chapels-of-ease and district churches, and the records of the three visitations of the diocese of Winchester, in which all

these ancient parishes were situated, carried out by bishops Richard Willis in 1725, John Thomas in 1765 and Brownlow North in 1788, and now conveniently available in print.[1]

Parishes, Patrons and Clergy

One of the major problems facing the pre-Victorian Church of England was the fact that its parochial structure still reflected the geographical distribution of population in the sixteenth century. Large parishes with growing populations could only be divided by Act of Parliament and with the agreement of the diocesan bishop, the patron and the incumbent, all of whom had a vested interest in maintaining the *status quo*. In order for new parishes to be created they had to receive an endowment to provide a benefice income, which required either a new benefaction or the voluntary surrender of part of the benefice income of the parish or parishes to be divided. In most cases the solution found to the problem of growing populations was to establish chapels-of-ease or proprietary chapels in existing parishes, staffed either by the existing clergy or ministers paid out of the income from rents charged on the seats in the new place of worship. This was the solution adopted in the two parishes in south-east Hampshire with significantly increasing populations, Alverstoke and Portsea. It was not until 1835 that steps were taken to create new Anglican parishes in south-east Hampshire, as shown in Table 1. The Victorian parochial ideal was a parish of not more than 5,000 inhabitants with a church, school and parsonage house served by a resident incumbent and at least one curate. It was an ideal that was only briefly achieved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, before declining congregations led to the closure of churches and the union of benefices.

Table 1: Creation of new ecclesiastical districts in south-east Hampshire, 1835-50

Ancient Parish	*New District*	*Date of Creation*	*Church Opened*
Alverstoke	St John, Forton	1841	1831
	St Matthew	1846	1846
Fareham	Holy Trinity	1836	1836
Havant	Redhill (Rowlands Castle)	1841	1838
Portsea	All Saints	1835	1828
	St John	1835	1788
	St Paul	1835	1822
	Holy Trinity	1844	1841
	St James	1844	1841
Warblington	Emsworth	1841	1840

Source: W. N. Yates, *Guide to the Collections: Part One, Church Records*, Portsmouth City Records Office, 1977

As has been noted it was common practice in the eighteenth century for parishes to be held in plurality and for some clergy to be non-resident, and this was certainly the case in south-east Hampshire, as shown in Table 2.[2] The neighbouring

Waterlooville church was built in 1831 in an area outside any of the existing parishes as a chapel to Farlington church. It became a parish church in its own right in 1858. A watercolour by R.H. Ubsdell, painted about 1842.
(419/1945/66)

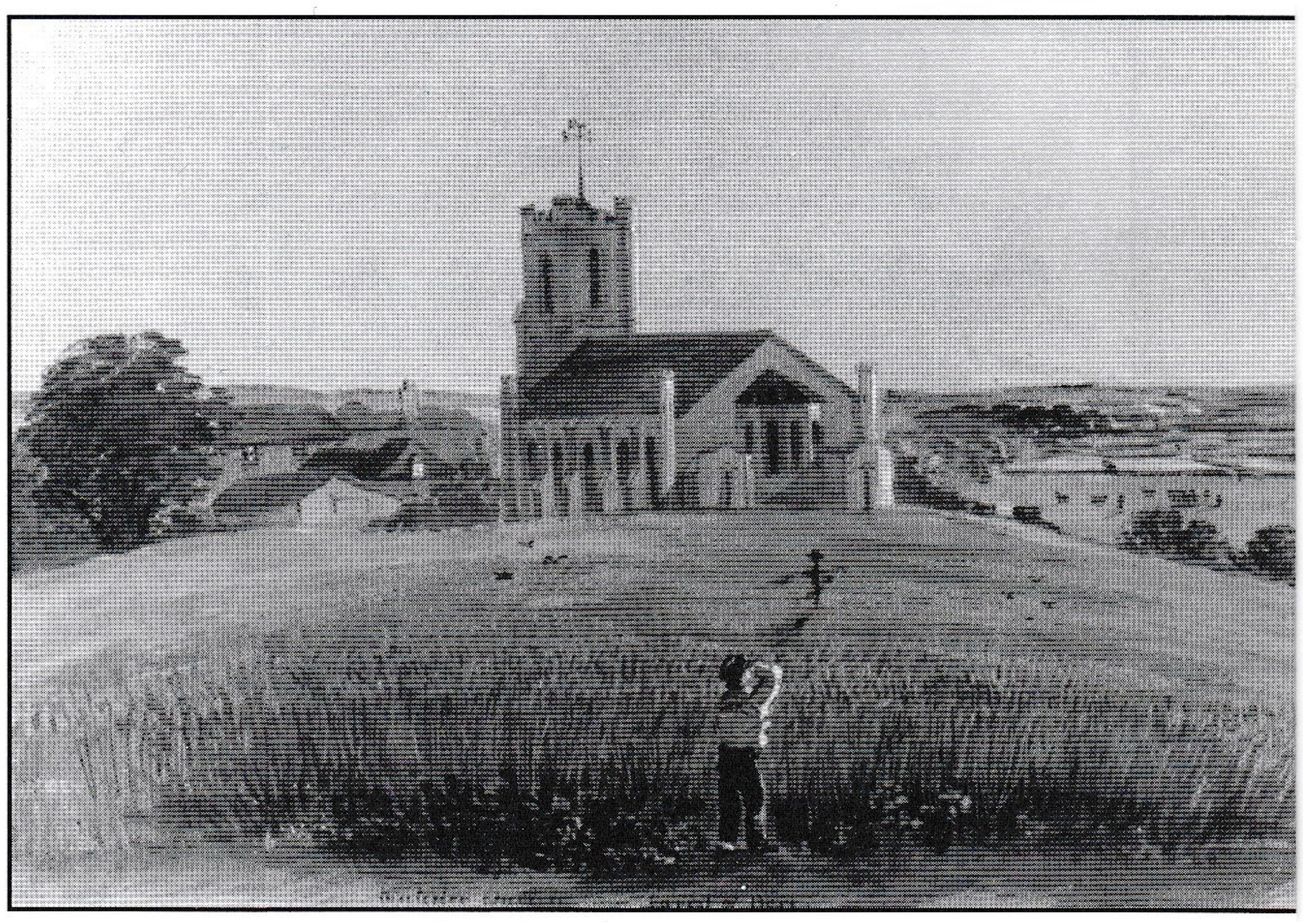


Table 2: Incidence of clerical pluralism and non-residence in south-east Hampshire in the eighteenth century

	1725	*1765*	*1788*
Total numbers of beneficed clergy	14	?15	?15
Pluralist beneficed clergy	7	6	7
Non-resident beneficed clergy	?4	?9	?9
Beneficed clergy employing curates	7	6	10

Source: W. R. Ward, *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Hampshire: Replies to Bishops' Visitations*, Hampshire Record Series, 1995

parishes of Widley and Wymering were always served in plurality by the same incumbent and were eventually formed into a consolidated benefice. In 1725 the then incumbent, William Chichely, the son of Sir John Chichely of Wimpole (Cambs), and librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, was also appointed to the rectory of Farlington, holding all three benefices until his death in 1737 at the age of 46.[3] The other career pluralists in 1725 were Dr Thomas Yalden, the non-resident rector of Chalton and Clanfield;[4] Edmund Cornewall, non-resident rector of Farlington, who was also vicar of Asthall (Oxon);[5] Ralph Baddeley, non-resident rector of Havant, who was also the resident curate of New Alresford; and Daniel Wavell, non-resident vicar of Fareham, who was the resident rector of St Maurice, Winchester. The two remaining pluralists in 1725 served personally two geographically adjacent cures; William Lamerton was both rector of Bedhampton and curate to the non-resident rector of Farlington, and Thomas Hughes held the rectory of Blendworth and vicarage of Catherington. A similar pattern of benefice-holding existed in both 1765 and 1788.

In 1765 the career pluralists were Dr William Denison, rector of Chalton and Clanfield;[6] Henry Taylor, vicar of Portsmouth;[7] James Henville, rector of Rowner;[8] and Gilbert Jackson, resident vicar of Titchfield, who was also non-resident rector of Stoke Charity. There was a specific question relating to

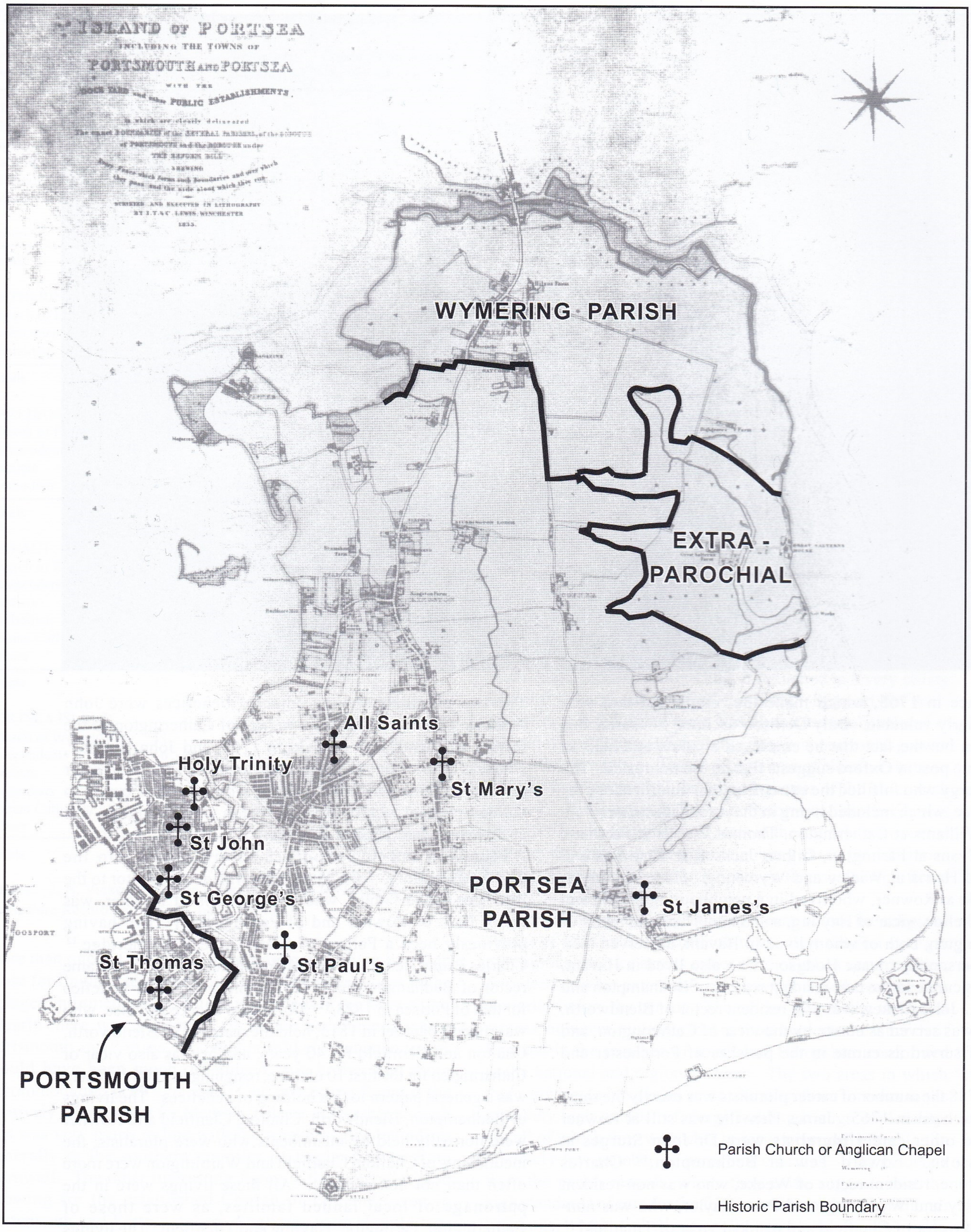
South Hayling church, a watercolour by Charles Cotton, about 1862.
(1059/1973/37)

residence in 1765, which make the returns for that year particularly valuable. Only Denison declined to answer this question but the fact that he employed a curate and held an academic post in Oxford suggests that he did not reside. The only clergy who fulfilled the extremely tight qualifications for residence, which included living in the parsonage house, were John Williams at Catherington, Thomas Woolls at Fareham, Peter Evans at Farlington, Gilbert Jackson at Titchfield and Richard Harris at Widley and Wymering. However, James Henville at Rowner, who lived in a neighbouring parish, and Isaac Skelton, vicar of Hayling, and Samuel Torrent, rector of Warblington, both of whom lived in Havant, all served their cures personally. Isaac Hodgson, who also lived in Havant, acted as curate to the non-resident rectors of Bedhampton and Havant. John Aiskew was non-resident rector of Blendworth, which was served as curate by the vicar of Catherington, and himself served as curate in the parishes of Portchester and Widley.

In 1788 the number of career pluralists was exactly the same as it had been in 1765: James Henville was still at Rowner and the other career pluralists were Dr John Sturges at Alverstoke,[9] Edward Tew at Bedhampton,[10] Charles Blackstone, resident rector of Weeke, who was non-resident at Widley and Wymering, and Peter Taylor, who was non-resident rector of Clanfield and resident vicar of Titchfield.[11] The two pluralists serving adjacent benefices were John Aiskew, who had added the vicarage of Catherington to the rectory of Blendworth he held in 1765, and John Webster, who was vicar of Hayling and curate to the non-resident rector of Warblington. Griffith Richards, who served as curate to the non-resident rectors of Bedhampton and Farlington, was also non-resident vicar of Empshott.

Pluralism and non-residence survived well into the nineteenth century. John Mansfield, who acted as tutor to the Prideaux-Brune family, who were patrons of Rowner, was rector both of Rowner and of Patrington (Yorks), having previously been a Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.[12] Charles Brune Henville, vicar of Portsmouth 1814-38, became rector of Bedhampton in 1818, resigning the latter benefice for that of Portsea in 1823.[13] Sir Samuel Clarke Jervoise, who was made a baronet in 1813, held the rectories of Blendworth, Chalton and Clanfield for 40 years, and he was also vicar of Catherington for the first 10 of these, resigning in 1805.[14] There was a general pattern to this holding of benefices. The livings of Bedhampton, Blendworth, Chalton, Clanfield and Rowner were normally held by incumbents who were pluralists; the incumbents of Chalton, Clanfield and Warblington were more often than not non-resident. All these livings were in the patronage of local landed families, as were those of Catherington, Farlington, Hayling and Titchfield. The livings

Anglican churches on Portsea Island before 1851.
This map is based on Lewis' map of 1833.



The façade of St John's Chapel, Prince George's Street, Portsea, with the minister's house on the right, as drawn by its architect. The chapel was consecrated on 31 July 1789; it was destroyed by bombing in 1940.
(Reproduced by permission of the Portsmouth Diocesan Board of Finance, CHU 5/2/2)

of Portsea, Portsmouth, Widley and Wymering were in the gift of Winchester College, and those of Alverstoke, Fareham and Havant in that of the bishops of Winchester. Even though the number of career pluralists holding ecclesiastical benefices in south-east Hampshire was rather above the national average, there is no evidence that parishes were inadequately served. Where it was not possible for clergy to serve their churches personally, they always employed a curate, even if this was the incumbent of a neighbouring parish. The most common combination for adjacent parishes being served by the same incumbent or curate were Bedhampton with either Farlington or Havant, Blendworth with Catherington and Chalton with Clanfield.

Church Building and Renovation

The view popularised by Victorian restorers that church buildings before 1830 had been poorly looked after is not borne out by the evidence of visitation returns, vestry minute books or churchwardens' accounts. Even before the major programme of Anglican church building and renovation began, after the establishment of the Church Building Commission and the Incorporated Church Building Society in 1818, new chapels-of-ease or proprietary chapels had been opened in the parishes of Alverstoke, Portsea and Warblington: Holy Trinity, Gosport, in 1696; St George's, Portsea, in 1754; St John's, Portsea, in 1789; and St Peter's, Emsworth, in 1790. The first three of these foundations are exceptionally well documented.

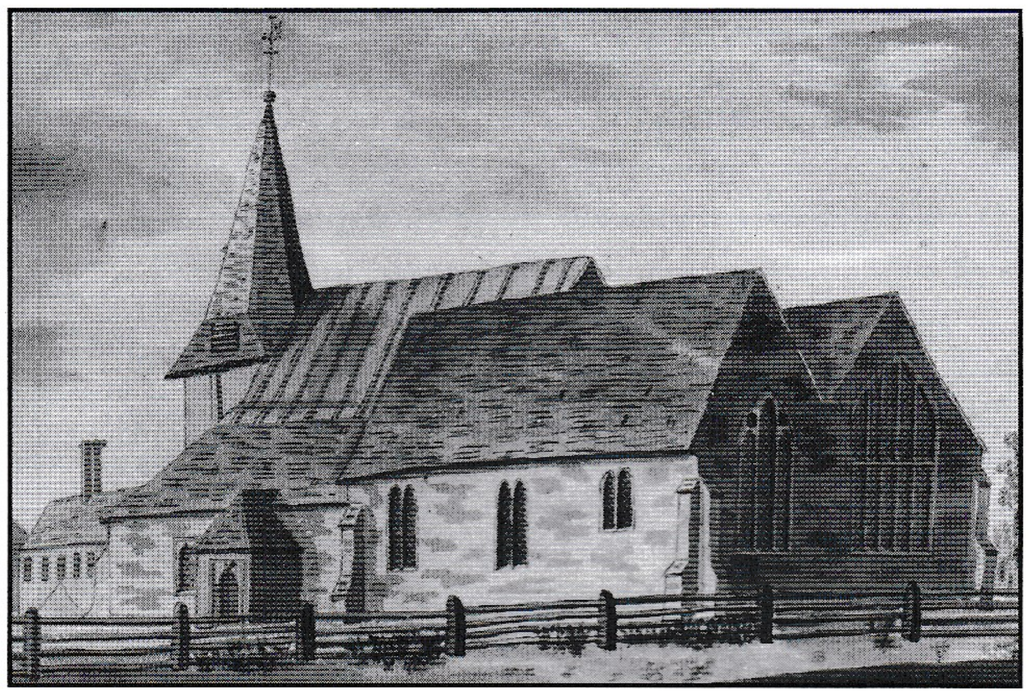
The Gosport chapel was built and furnished by private subscriptions. Under the terms of the Act of Consecration, dated 24 September 1696, celebrations of Holy Communion could be held in the chapel as well as baptisms, marriages and burials, but the rights of the parish church of Alverstoke, in respect of tithes, offerings and fees, were not to be injured.[15] This was recognised by Bishop Pretyman-Tomline of Winchester when he gave permission (in a letter of 21 May 1827 entered into the Alverstoke vestry book) for Holy Communion to be celebrated in Gosport chapel on Whit Sunday on the grounds that the population of the town was now so large that it was unreasonable for the inhabitants to maintain the earlier custom of repairing to Alverstoke parish church for the sacrament on that day.[16]

The growing population of Gosport throughout the eighteenth century resulted in the need to enlarge the chapel. This was first done in 1717 and again in 1765. Considerable sums were also spent on the improvement of the chapel, including the purchase of an organ in 1748, and major repairs in 1776-9. Some of these expenses were met by voluntary subscriptions, others by levying a rate on the pew-owners, but the latter method of financing repairs to the chapel became impossible when one of those defaulting on payment of the rate obtained a judgement in the Court of Arches, the ecclesiastical court of appeal for the province of Canterbury, in 1818 that the Gosport rates were illegal since they had not been clearly provided for when the chapel was consecrated. The situation was only resolved by the passing of an Act of Parliament in 1825 specifically authorising the levying of rates upon the pew-owners, according to the valuation of their pews, if supported by a majority of those present at a meeting of the pew-owners to levy such a rate.[17]

In Gosport chapel, and at the two chapels established in the parish of Portsea, all the pews were owned by individuals who were free to sell them to others when they no longer required them, or they could sell them to the chapel wardens who could then rent out the pews and use the rents to help meet the expenses of the chapel. At St George's, Portsea, the total valuation of the pews when the chapel was consecrated, on 17 September 1754, was £1,979, and this met all but £230 of the building costs, the balance being found from donations and legacies. The pew-owners paid for their seats in three instalments, initially when the foundation stone was laid, then when the building was roofed, and finally when the building was furnished. In addition the pew-owners, having paid for the building, had to pay an annual pew rent. These rents totalled £49 9s 6d, of which £40 was used to pay the minister's salary and £5 to meet the salary of the chapel clerk.[18]

Although significant sums had been spent on both St George's and, later, St John's chapels in Portsea, the chapel wardens were less conscientious than their counterparts in Gosport over the maintenance of the building. It was reported in 1810 'that the inside of [St John's] Chapel had not been

Titchfield church from the south-east, a watercolour by the antiquarian Francis Grose, 1760.
(1P/1987/12)



Painted or Whitewashed since its Consecration in the year 1789 and that it is very much in want thereof'; the chapel guttering and the chaplain's house were also in poor repair and the exterior of the chapel had not been painted for seven years. The reluctance of the chapel wardens and pew-owners to meet these costs can be seen in the fact that it took several months for the necessary repairs to be carried out, and that when the pew-owners voted to replace the chandeliers in 1811 the chapel wardens refused to act until directed to do so by the bishop of Winchester. When 'it appearing to the vestry that the expenditure on candles by William Norris, the sexton, for the year 1823 exceeds any former year; he is directed to be very circumspect in such expenditure in future'.[19]

As far as the ancient parish churches were concerned all the evidence points to regular maintenance of the fabric and furnishings, and frequent expenditure on providing additional seating. The visitation records for 1765 record that the churches and chapels at Crofton, Fareham, Farlington, North Hayling, South Hayling, Titchfield, Widley and Wymering were in good repair, as were the parsonage houses at Fareham, Farlington and Wymering. At Bedhampton 'two pews have been erected for private families at their own expence, without any inconvenience to the parishioners', and at Blendworth the church had been 'entirely rebuilt within about 7 years'.[20] However, the chancel of Catherington church was noted as being out of repair and at Rowner, though 'the church with its chancel [was] repaired last summer, inside and out . . . the communion table has no covering and looks indecent'.[21] Further repairs were carried out at Bedhampton in 1802 when

> it was unanimously agreed that the pews, the pulpit, the communion rails and table and the gallery shall be painted agreeable to the directions of the present churchwardens and minister together with the Ten Commandments, the Creed and Lord's Prayer and that a stove shall be placed in the most convenient part of the church in order that the church may be air'd on Sundays during the winter.[22]

At St Mary's, Portsea, the vestry poll book records votes in 1768-9 for erecting a new singing gallery and relocating the pulpit.[23] Major repairs were carried out at North Hayling in 1829-30, some of them 'ordered by the Chancellor of the Diocese', including a unanimous resolution 'to remove the pulpit, &c from its present situation and to erect a new one in a more convenient place'.[24] The churchwardens of Wymering were authorised to borrow £500 in 1802 to pay for general repairs to the church including rebuilding the tower.[25]

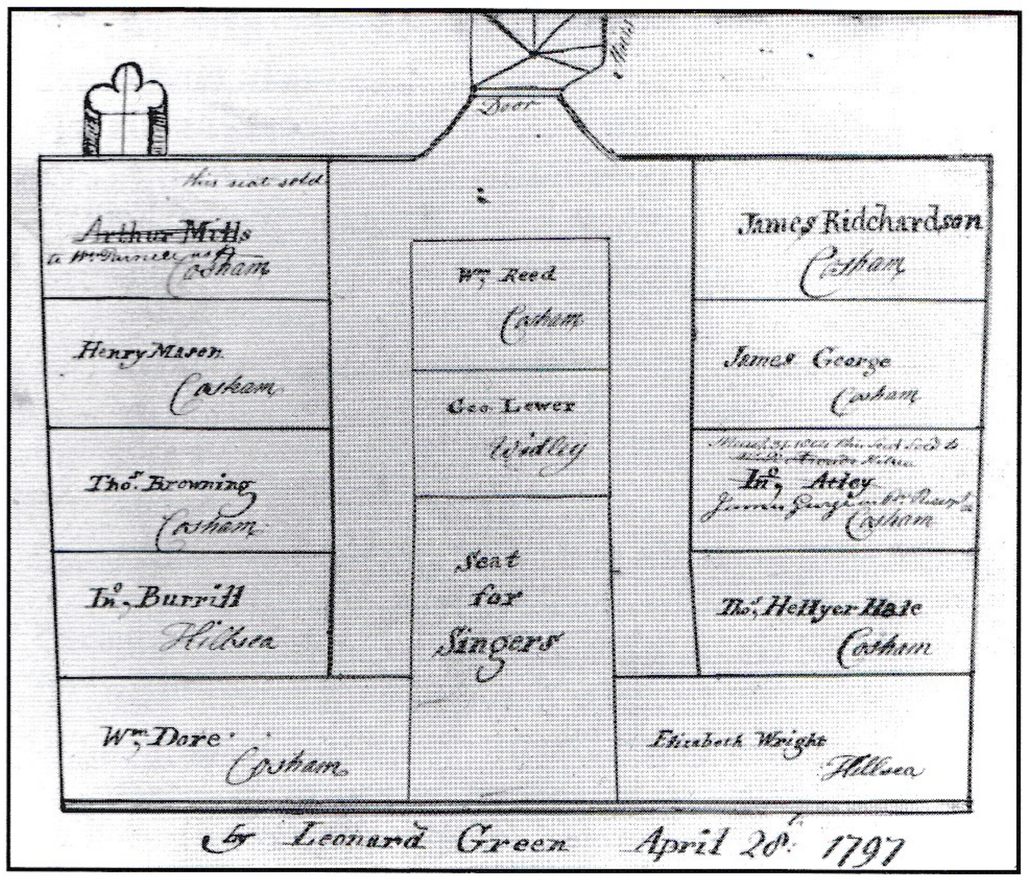
Essential repairs to buildings could, however, be frustrated by parishioners being unwilling to pay for them. At Titchfield it was recorded in the vestry book in April 1677 that in January of that year a meeting of the parishioners had agreed to demolish and rebuild the church steeple on condition that the vicar, Walter Garrett, would raise the necessary funds, which he undertook to do. Garrett persuaded the Countess of Northampton and the Honourable Lady Elizabeth Noel to send him 10 guineas and £20 respectively and the Honourable Edward Noel promised to provide the necessary timber. Thereafter it was agreed in principle to levy a rate to provide £100 towards the cost of the work, but when a formal proposal was made to levy this rate several parishioners, listed by name in the vestry book, went back on their earlier promise and voted against it. As a result, the plans to demolish and rebuild the steeple were abandoned and the money returned to those who had sent it. Garrett formally noted in the vestry book that he hoped God would prevent any accidents from which 'the thinness, rottenness, cracks and other defects of the steeple seem to threaten us'.[26]

By contrast the vestry books of Alverstoke and Fareham record frequent alterations to the fabric and furnishings of their respective parish churches. This included the provision of an elaborate new altarpiece at Alverstoke as recorded in the vestry minutes of 12 May 1715:

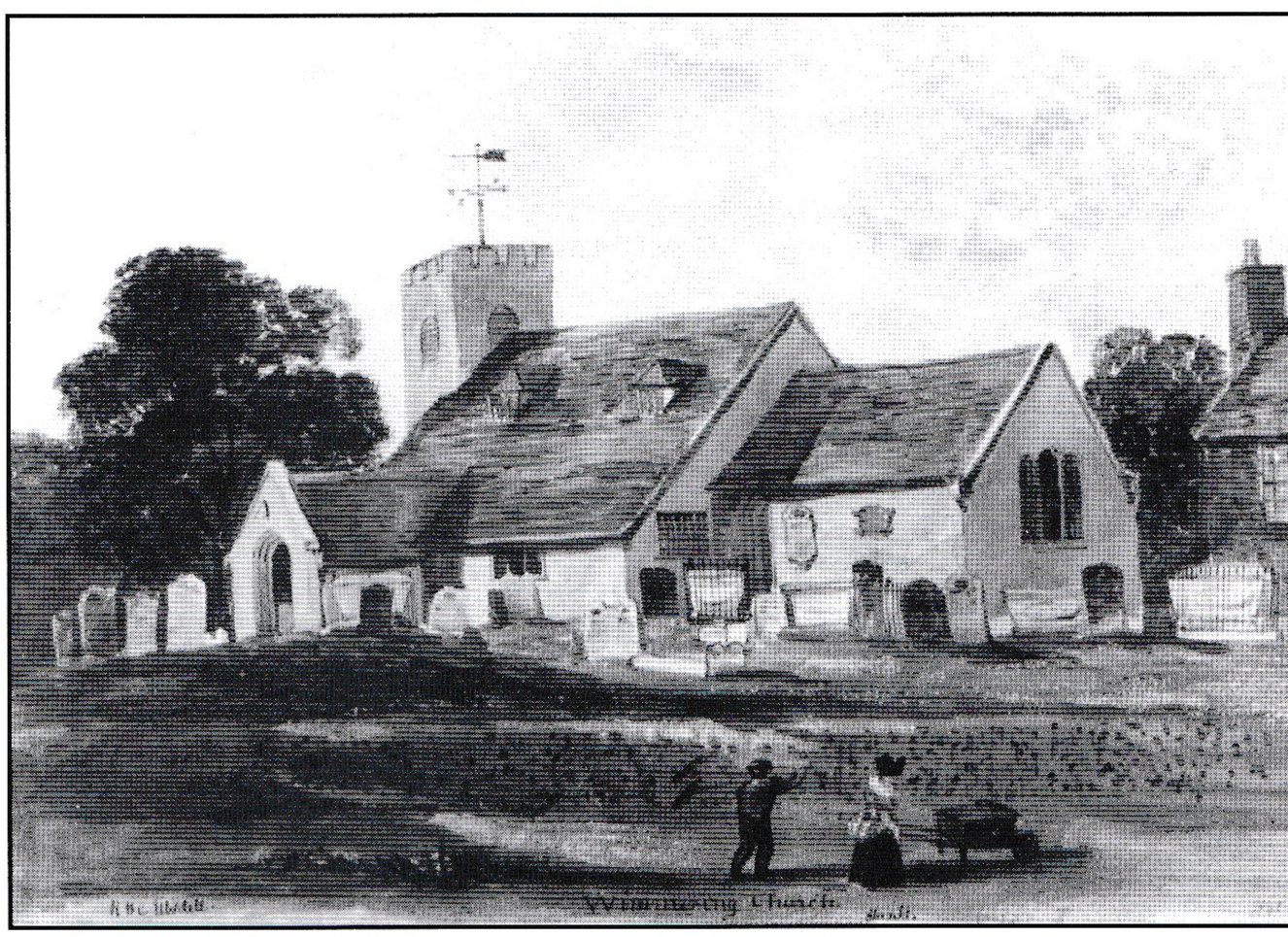
> Whereas the altarpiece of the parish church of Alverstoke was permitted by neglect to run to decay, and for several years lay in a very ruinous and indecent manner, and whereas the same has of late been repaired, and beautified, and the work being not yet finished, it is therefore ordered that the said work of repairing and beautifying the said altarpiece be carried on and finished at the publick expence and charge of the parishioners of the said parish, and that the same be collected by a publick rate, to be made for that purpose, and forasmuch as the said work was absolutely necessary to be done, as well as for the support and ornament of the church, it is therefore approved and confirmed.[27]

More general repairs were carried out to Alverstoke church in 1725, 1789, 1802 and 1830. In 1736 it was noted that the steeple was 'very much decayed and out of repair, that the frames on which the bells depend . . . are in danger of falling if not timely prevented', and it was agreed that repairs should be carried out immediately.[28] In 1805 it was 'ordered that the chandeliers be taken down and sold and that the money arising by such sale be applied . . . for the purchase of a small spring Dial clock to be fixed in front of the Gallery and that the names of the Donors of the Chandeliers (namely Capt[n] Thomas Stepney and Mr Benj. Bradley) be recorded'.[29]

Plan of the new gallery in St Peter and St Paul's, Wymering, 1797. East is to the bottom of the plan.
(Reproduced by permission of the Portsmouth Diocesan Board of Finance, CHU15/3A/1 f50v)



Wymering church, a watercolour by R.H. Ubsdell, 1842.
(419/1945/76)



At Fareham the church tower was rebuilt in 1740-2; in 1782 it was agreed to carry out a survey of the south aisle of the church and to seek estimates for 'taking down, enlarging and rebuilding the same'.[30] Further repairs were carried out in 1804 and in 1812 it was agreed to consider the further enlargement of the church. Disagreements between the surveyor, John Wilson, and the enlargement committee resulted in the former refusing to guarantee the safety of the building unless the latter adopted his recommendations for the new work. A further complication was that the churchwardens had neglected to apply for a faculty for the enlargement and it was not until 1815 that the vestry resolved to apply for a retrospective faculty for the work already carried out. By this date the debt on the enlargement scheme had reached £1,345 plus the payment of interest at 5 per cent. It was not until 1819 that the debts on the enlargement scheme were finally resolved by a gift of £200, to be repaid without interest at the rate of £20 *per annum*, from Mrs Elizabeth Barnard. The vestry recorded its immense gratitude to Mrs Barnard 'in extricating the Parishioners from the unpleasant difficulty they were involved in when all other resources appeared to have failed'.[31]

One of the cheapest ways of increasing accommodation in church buildings was to erect galleries across parts of the interior. At Wymering permission was given to Leonard Green to erect a gallery in the church in 1797, 'the whole of the expenses to be defrayed by the purchasers, without any expense to the parish, for the sum of fifty-nine pounds, and every purchaser to be at liberty to let or sell his seat at any time as he shall think proper'. The plan of the new gallery shows that it contained a total of 12 pews and a large seat for the singers. The former singers' seat in the body of the church was then assigned 'for the sole use of the poor of the parish'.[32] At Alverstoke one of the churchwardens offered to build a gallery at the west end of the church in 1737, on the same basis as that later adopted at Wymering, and this offer was accepted providing any surplus funds from the sale of the pews 'be laid out and applied in purchaseing some ornaments or other necessary implements for the use . . . of the church'.[33] A legacy was left for building a gallery at the west end of the nave in Fareham church in 1732. A further gallery over the north door of the church, paid for out of the church rate, was erected in 1748-9. In 1767 Matthew Dixon, who had lately built 'a very good brick and stone house with coach house, stabling and other outhouses' was permitted to erect a gallery at his own expense across the south aisle of Fareham church, the gallery being 'sufficient to contain two seats, the one for himself, lady and children to stand, sit and kneel in time of divine service and the other seat for his servants for the same purpose', the new seats to be appropriated to the occupants of this new house in perpetuity.[34] Additional accommodation in Portchester church was also achieved through the erection of galleries. One, containing 13 pews and costing £140, was erected and paid for by the subscribers to the pews in 1812.[35] In 1824 'the minister and churchwardens not being able to satisfy the demands made upon them by the proprietors of houses in the parish of Portchester, propose erecting a gallery at the East end of the Church . . . in order to defray the expences of which they propose fitting up and selling Three Pews at the West end of the Church . . . for the sum of Fifteen Pounds each pew'.[36]

Even in churches where the majority of the seats were not wholly owned by their occupants, or subject to pew-rents, the seats were normally assigned to certain named properties or parishioners. Alverstoke church had three pews in 1705 which 'are to stand open for all comers', but it was not until the second quarter of the nineteenth century before significant moves were made to make provision for free or unappropriated seating in either Anglican or non-Anglican places of worship.[37] At Fareham in 1838 this was achieved by persuading the proprietors of pews in the galleries to exchange their existing sittings for new ones in other parts of the church. This released

Fareham parish church, a watercolour by R.H. Ubsdell, 1841.
(419/1945/19)

a block of 14 pews in the south-west section of the gallery capable of providing a total of 84 free sittings. The churchwardens were congratulated by the vestry for the measures they had taken to provide more free sittings for the poor and encouraged to provide additional free sittings in future.[38]

An interesting, though extremely partial, description of most of the Anglican churches in south-east Hampshire, is provided by the noted Victorian ecclesiologist, Sir Stephen Glynne, whose 106 surviving volumes containing notes on over 5,000 churches in the British Isles are preserved at St Deiniol's Library, Hawarden.[39] The churches at Bedhampton, Fareham, Farlington, Havant, Portsea, Portsmouth and Warblington were visited before 1840 and that at Titchfield in 1847. Glynne was especially critical of the churches at Fareham and Farlington. The former he considered

> but little worthy of notice. The original nave is replaced by a huge and frightful building of brick nearly square and in every respects [sic] the facsimile of a conventicle . . . The original Chancel however remains, but the body has been so preposterously arranged as not to have the Chancel in the Centre, which materially adds to the unsightliness of the edifice.[40]

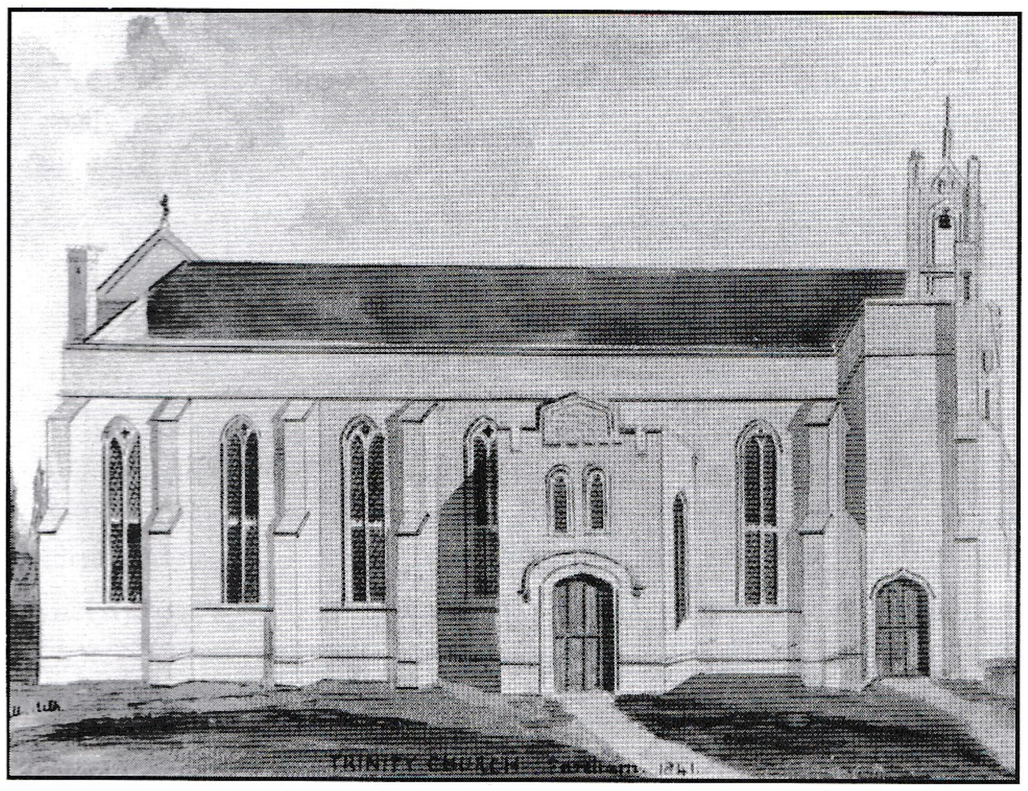
The latter was also 'scarcely worthy of the smallest notice and is nearly all rebuilt in a poor style'. At Havant 'the nave has been rebuilt of late years in a modern Gothic style, but not so bad a composition as is often found'. Glynne noted that St Mary's, Portsea, 'is shortly to be pulled down and replaced by a larger and more elegant structure. The present building is mean and much patched up with heavy pews and galleries'. Complaints against 'large and hideously exclusive' or 'cumbrous pews which deform the nave' are also made about the churches at Bedhampton and Warblington. Glynne thought that at St Thomas', Portsmouth, 'the interior is in its way handsome, though the western part is very ill suited to the beautiful chancel. There are large galleries, uniform pews and a large organ'.[41] At Titchfield Glynne complained that 'within the original Romanesque arcade on the S side of the nave has been sadly altered of late years in order to make room for the insertion of a galley'.[42]

Of the new district churches built after 1820, two, St John's, Forton, and Holy Trinity, Fareham, are well documented. The vicar of Alverstoke had petitioned for the new church at Forton because of the growing population of the parish, which included Gosport. The foundation stone of the new church was laid in 1829 and it was consecrated in 1831. All the seats in the body of the church were let at annual rents ranging between £1 and £3 and the minister was paid out of the pew rents, but the seats in the gallery were free. At the first meeting of the pew-renters it was agreed that the minister, the Revd H. A. Veck, had been so exhausted by the building process that no services should be held for three weeks to allow him time to recover. The pew-renters also agreed to hold quarterly collections to pay the sexton and pew-openers, and to meet the general expenses of the new church, since no provision had been made for such expenditure in the Act of Consecration. At a meeting on 1 September the pew renters agreed to pay for a screen at the west end of the new church 'to prevent the wind discommoding the congregation'. The income from the pew rents was used to pay £10 to the parish clerk and £15 into a 'reparation fund', and the balance, initially £114 7s 0d, to the minister. Unfortunately the pew rents declined so that by 1841-2 the minister's salary was only £76, dropping even further to £61 16s 6d in 1851-2. Clergy who relied on pew rents for the payment of their salaries were at a great disadvantage compared with those whose benefice income was made up from endowments, glebe, tithe and surplice fees.[43]

Despite the difficulties in funding the church and its minister, it was decided in 1831 to build a Sunday schoolroom at Forton at a cost of £285 10s 0d, to be paid in three instalments: a third when the roof was on, a third when the building was finished, and the final third six months after completion. The foundation stone was laid in 1832, at which time it was also agreed that the building should function as a day school. A grant of £80 was received from the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. Two concerts of sacred music held in St John's church, the second attracting over a thousand attendants, and a bazaar raised £83 13s 6d. By the time of its opening the new schoolroom was already paid for.[44]

At Fareham the original proposal to deal with an increase of population had been to enlarge the parish church. In 1832 it was agreed that this idea should be abandoned and that a new district church to seat 600 should be built, with half the sittings free and half rented.[45] The population of the parish was then 4,402 and the parish church could accommodate 1,470. A site was purchased for £420, a quarter of which was donated by the Revd Sir Henry Thompson, Bart, whose family owned the land. Thompson then provided the whole cost of building the new church, £3,147, and an endowment of £1,000 to pay the minister and maintain the building. This contained 367 rented sittings and 240 free ones, a slightly different proportion from that originally intended, but it was stated that

Holy Trinity, Fareham, a new church for the new parish created in 1836. A watercolour by R.H. Ubsdell, painted 1841.
(419/1945/20)



the future erection of side galleries could increase the accommodation to 1,000 sittings. The patronage was vested in the 'heirs and assigns' of the donor. A rumour that Thompson himself might decline to be the first minister resulted in a petition from the inhabitants of Fareham, dated 8 September 1835, requesting that he should not so decline and that the future congregation should not feel 'deprived of the services of a Minister of your character, piety and ability'.[46]

The letting of pews in Holy Trinity Church was strictly controlled by regulations approved by the vestry on 17 June 1841:

> An application for pews . . . to be made in writing to the Churchwardens, and a list of the applicants to be kept in the Vestry Room. Applicants will be provided with pews according to the relation in which they stand in the list, subject to the discretion of the Churchwardens. Applicants on changing their pews will have their names removed from the list by the Churchwardens. The system of subletting pews, or sittings in them, is not acknowledged by the Churchwardens. Renters of pews on quitting the Parish cannot retain their pews, or make over their interests in them to others, beyond the period for which they have paid their rent.

By that date there were 850 sittings in the church, including 240 in the galleries, of which 'between 200 and 300 sittings [are] let in general'.[47] In 1848 a subscription was opened for the purpose of building a parsonage house for the new ecclesiastical district. A total of £1,520 was raised, including £50 from the bishop of Winchester, £300 from Sir Henry Thompson, and a grant of £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty.[48]

The desire of the vicar and churchwardens of St Mary's, Portsea, to rebuild the parish church caused considerable difficulties, since dissenters, of which there were many in the parish, could pack the vestry and prevent a church rate being levied for this purpose. In 1834 a proposal to levy a rate of 3d in the pound had led to demands for a poll and its rejection by 1,034 votes to 588. On 25 January 1841 the majority of those present at a vestry meeting, concerned at the expense of rebuilding or repairing the parish church, voted to adjourn, but subsequently agreed to a motion which proposed that the cost should be met by voluntary subscription. When on 26 May 1842 a rate of 1d in the pound was proposed to finance urgent repairs costing £267 8s 0d to the parish church and St Paul's, Southsea, a poll was demanded and the proposal rejected by 1,318 votes to 768. It was not until 25 May 1843 that the vicar, J. V. Stewart, and the churchwardens were in a position to ask for approval for the demolition and rebuilding of the parish church on the basis that no rate would be demanded but the whole cost met by voluntary subscriptions. Of the funds required, £1,000 had been provided by the patrons, Winchester College; £1,200 'by Societies in connection with the Church'; £537 13s 5d by subscriptions received and £753 by subscriptions promised. As the total estimated cost was £3,750, Stewart had agreed to meet the deficit. Even so there was considerable opposition to the proposal and the vestry meeting was adjourned to 1 June. Detailed reports were then presented and the opponents agreed not to press their case. It is clear that a good deal of lobbying must have gone on behind the scenes and that much of the credit for achieving the desired result must go to Stewart, who was congratulated by the vestry for the manner in which he had handled the dispute and reassured objectors. This incident suggests that some of the previous opinions of Stewart, as a rather ineffectual and lethargic incumbent, may require significant reassessment.[49]

Religious Observance

Most recent research on the pre-Victorian church has concluded that the level of lay piety was high and that provision for public worship reflected the requirements of parishioners. There was a marked contrast between the level of provision in urban and rural areas, with the former having more Sunday and weekday services and more frequent celebrations of Holy Communion. This national pattern was reflected in south-east Hampshire, as shown in Table 3, though the evidence for some parishes, either from the 1765 visitation returns or from local records, is

Table 3: Anglican public worship provision in south-east Hampshire in the late eighteenth century

	Rural Churches (16)	*Urban Churches (8)*
One Sunday Service	10	-
Two Sunday Services	3	6
Weekday Services	1	3
Monthly Communion	-	6
Quarterly Communion	8	-

Source: W. R. Ward, *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Hampshire: Replies to Bishop's Visitations*, Hampshire Record Series 1995

defective. From the late eighteenth century some town churches began the introduction of a third Sunday service, in the evening, in addition to the customary morning and afternoon services. St Thomas', Portsmouth, did so in 1798;[50] in November 1806 it was agreed to institute a Sunday evening

lecture at St John's, Portsea, and to install two stoves to heat the chapel on either side of the communion rail.[51] In both cases the payment for the provision of this additional service was raised by subscription.

At St George's, Portsea, the introduction of a third Sunday service had been made without any similar endowment and this led to some acrimonious disputes after the departure of the Revd R. H. Cumyns in 1820. Cumyns had left, after a row with the trustees and pew-owners, to become a curate at Portsea parish church and it was not until 1824 that he secured repayment of £47 13s 3d that he had paid 'for the Pulpit Cushion and Furniture and Cushions for the Communion Table'. The vicar of Portsea, Dr Samuel Gauntlett, had appointed another curate, the Revd Joseph Cape, to undertake the services at St George's but he was unwilling to supply all three Sunday services without assistance. The trustees offered to appoint an evening lecturer but Cape insisted that he should arrange for assistance personally. At the heart of the dispute was the insistence of the trustees and pew-owners that St George's was a proprietary chapel, over which they had full control, and the desire of Gauntlett to establish that it was a parochial chapel-of-ease. On 5 March 1821 the trustees and pew-owners pressed their claim by electing Dr James Inman as the evening lecturer. There was a further dispute in 1823-4 between the trustees and a new chaplain, the Revd E. L. Benwell, over whether he had the right to preach a sermon, followed by a collection for his salary and a fund to pay for the evening lecture, and to introduce a new psalm and hymn book which the trustees regarded as being a departure from the provisions of the *Book of Common Prayer*.[52]

The ornaments and other provisions required for Anglican worship in the eighteenth century are indicated in the inventories that survive from this period. At Alverstoke in 1719 the church possessed a silver chalice, flagon and two patens, two surplices, two prayer books, a scarlet altar carpet, a pulpit cushion with gold bosses and tassels, and a holland tablecloth and napkin for the communion.[53] Fareham in 1733 had a silver flagon, two chalices, paten and salver, a pewter flagon and paten, and a damask tablecloth and napkin for the communion.[54] Wymering in 1733 had a silver chalice and paten, a pewter paten, a surplice, a bible, two prayer books, a green altar carpet, a pulpit cloth and cushion, and a linen tablecloth and napkin for the communion.[55] At Titchfield it was reported in 1774 that the church door had been broken open at night and several items stolen, including 'the Gold Tassels of the pulpit cushion and its ornamental Gold Lace'.[56] When St George's, Portsea, was consecrated in 1754 its furnishings and ornaments were listed in considerable detail. The communion table had a carpet and cushions of crimson damask silk, two prayer books bound in turkey leather and the communion service comprised two silver chalices, patens and flagons and two pewter patens. The pulpit and reading desk had hangings and cushions of crimson damask silk, bible, prayer book, psalm book and brass candle branches and snuffer. The chapel clerk's desk had a hanging of crimson damask silk, a prayer book bound in calf leather, a psalm book and two brass candle sconces. The singing seat was also fitted with brass candle sconces.[57]

Altars and pulpits were frequently provided with new furnishings. At St John's, Portsea, in June 1821, it was ordered that 'the white Dimity Curtain, at the Communion, to be taken away, and replaced, by a Crimson moreen Curtain, bound with black velvet, and a shade to be fixed on the outside of the Chapel, to preserve such Curtain'.[58] On the death of important people, either locally or nationally, it was the custom in both Anglican churches and some nonconformist chapels to drape the furnishings in black cloth. At Fareham a vestry meeting on 29 June 1837 agreed to drape the pulpit and reading desk 'in manifestation of respect to the memory of his late most excellent, revered and lamented majesty [King William IV], according to the custom observed upon all former and similar occasions'.[59] At the Portsmouth Unitarian Chapel the congregation resolved on 29 September 1845 'that the pulpit . . . be put in mourning for the late Mrs Weymouth'.[60] The Clarence Street Baptist Chapel agreed to put up 'pulpit mourning' following the death of the Duke of York in 1827.[61]

The piety of individual lay people was shown in their frequent gifts of plate and furnishings to churches. In 1824 Charles Short, Esq., presented Warblington church 'with a handsome piece of Communion plate, consisting of a chalice'.[62] At Blendworth a chalice, paten and flagon were given by Thomasina Francklyn in 1720, and an almsdish by William Francklyn, who died in 1728. Chalton received gifts of a new chalice in 1725 and a paten in 1794, Alverstoke a new paten in 1702 and a chalice in 1783. Clergy also gave gifts of plate to their churches: Edward Jenkins, vicar of Fareham, a standing paten in 1718; Dr John Backshall, vicar of Portsea, an almsdish in 1749. All the new plate given to St George's, Portsea, in 1754 was paid for by the vicar of Portsea, Dr Philip Barton, and that given to St Paul's, Southsea, by his successor, Charles Brune Henville, in 1823.[63]

One area in which more research needs to be undertaken is that of church music. It is certainly the case that the once widely-held view that pre-Victorian church choirs were musically unadventurous, and that few churches had organs, can no longer be sustained. The evidence from south-east Hampshire suggests that considerable efforts were being made during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to improve the standards of church music and several churches installed organs, though this was never cheap. In addition to the costs of installation, parishes and proprietary chapels had both to maintain their organs and employ an organist. Probably the first church in south-east Hampshire to install an organ was St Thomas', Portsmouth, where it was opened, with a sermon on the text 'Praise Him with stringed instruments and organs', on 26 July 1718. The innovation was regarded as outright popery by the minister of Portsmouth's recently opened Presbyterian chapel, who preached a sermon on the text 'God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth'. Later on, after Stephen Sibly became organist in 1807, the church became well known for the elaborate nature of its services and the standard of its music.[64] The example of St Thomas' was followed by Holy

The interior of St Mary's, Portsea, 1843, just before it was rebuilt.
(42/1966)

Trinity, Gosport, in 1748; St George's, Portsea, in 1771; Fareham in 1782; St John's, Portsea, in 1789; and Warblington in 1819. Sir Stephen Glynne also noted organs at Farlington and Titchfield, but expressed some surprise that there was no organ at St Mary's, Portsea, before the rebuilding of the church in 1843-4.[65]

At St George's the decision to install an organ had been preceded in 1770 by a decision 'to erect a new singing gallery at the west end of the said chapel'. The cost of the organ was raised from subscriptions and no fewer than seven separate rates of 3d in the pound on the proprietors of the pews. Richard Chapman was elected the first organist in 1773 at an annual salary of £22. Major repairs were carried out on the organ in 1789 and again in 1796 and 1828. On the last of these occasions it was agreed to increase the organist's annual salary to £25, but in the following year he was dismissed for 'not having performed his Duty to the satisfaction of the Proprietors'. It was agreed that twelve boys should be selected to sing in the organ gallery and that the new organist should instruct them in singing. The advertisement in the *Hampshire Telegraph* stated that candidates for the post of organist would be required to give a demonstration of their musical skills.[66]

When the meeting of the Fareham vestry agreed to purchase and install an organ in 1782 it was stated that this was to be 'without any charge to be made on the inhabitants' and that the organ was to 'be repaired and the organist and others attending the same shall be paid by the inhabitants by voluntary subscriptions'.[67] By 1813, when it was agreed that the organist, John Nicholson, should receive an annual salary of £35

> the proposition for paying the Organist having been taken into consideration, It is the opinion of this Meeting that the only permanent way of Paying the Organist is by fixing a certain salary and paying it out of the Church Rate the subscription hitherto received being not only inadequate but irregularly paid.

This decision was not, however, popular with some parishioners, 11 of whom, including one of the church-wardens, protested in 1817 'against the salary of the Organist being levied on the Parish in the Church Rate'.[68] The row continued to rumble on and in 1821 the vestry agreed to pay the organist out of an assessment on the pews rather than out of the church rate. The pews were to be divided into five classes with rates rising from 1s 6d to 6s 0d. In 1822 it was reported that several occupants of the pews had refused to pay the rates and it was agreed 'that the money collected . . . be returned to the individuals and that in future if the organ continue to be played the salary to the organist must be raised by subscription'.[69] Nevertheless by 1835, when the state of the existing organ was described as 'useless', the vestry resolved that the option of repairing it should not be pursued, but that a new organ should be acquired and a committee was set up to put this in hand.[70]

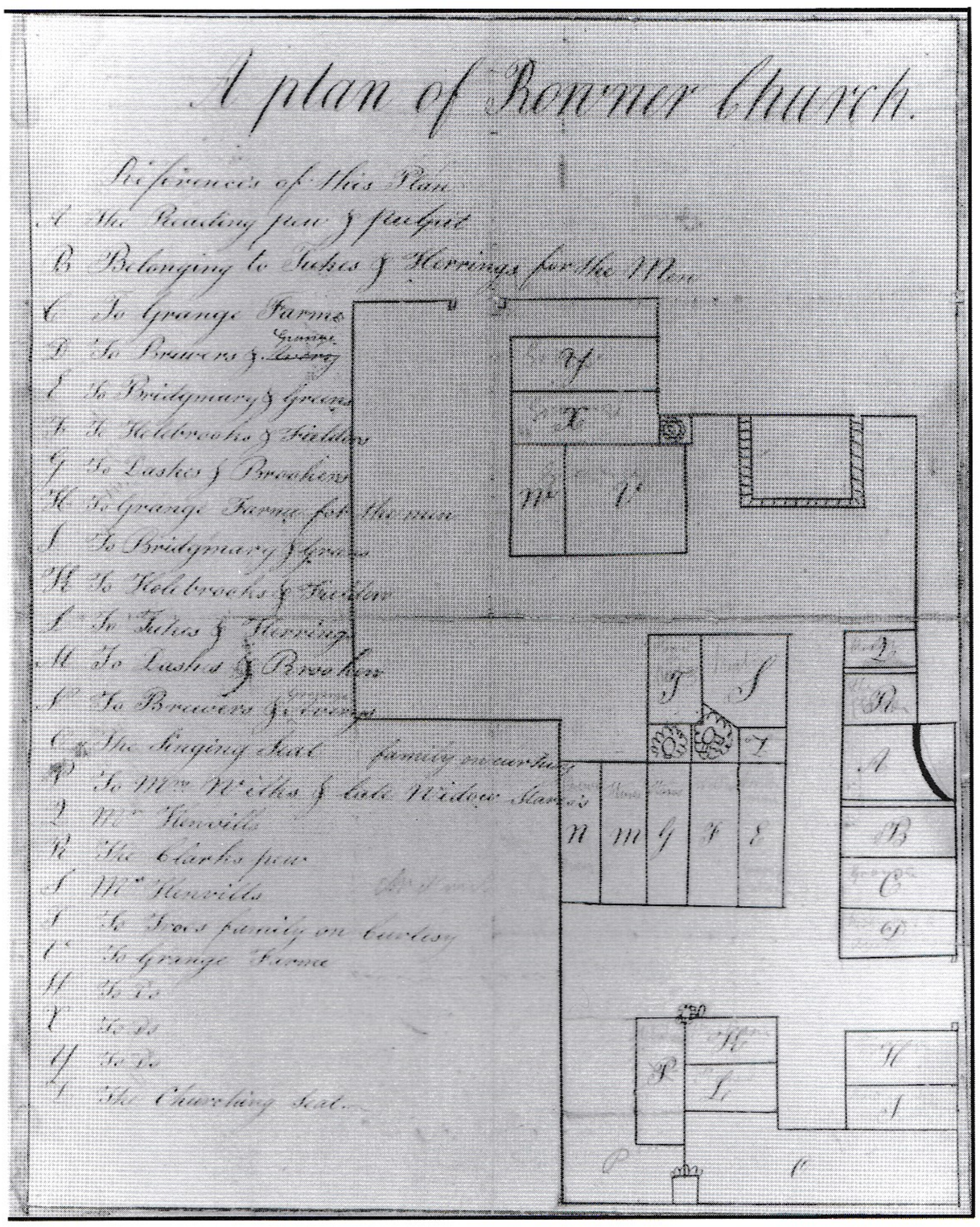
When the parish of Warblington decided to acquire an organ it was agreed that the cost would be defrayed by voluntary subscriptions and a committee, including the rector, set up to oversee the installation.[71] The organ was placed 'in a small upper gallery at the west end' of the nave.[72] One of the new district churches in which there was a high standard of church music was Holy Trinity, Fareham. At the vestry meeting held on 9 December 1845 it was agreed to increase the salary of the organist by £5 and that four of the boys forming the choir 'be clothed with cap, jacket, trowsers and shoes for the year ensuing' and that the other two boys 'be partially clothed and that they all be required to sign an agreement to give up the clothing received . . . if they leave the choir before the expiration of 9 months'. It was also agreed to give 10s as a Christmas present to seven of the adult singers and 5s to William Kneller. The vestry also recorded its gratitude to Captain O'Bryan for 'having kindly presented the choir with King's Service of the *Te Deum* in C'.[73]

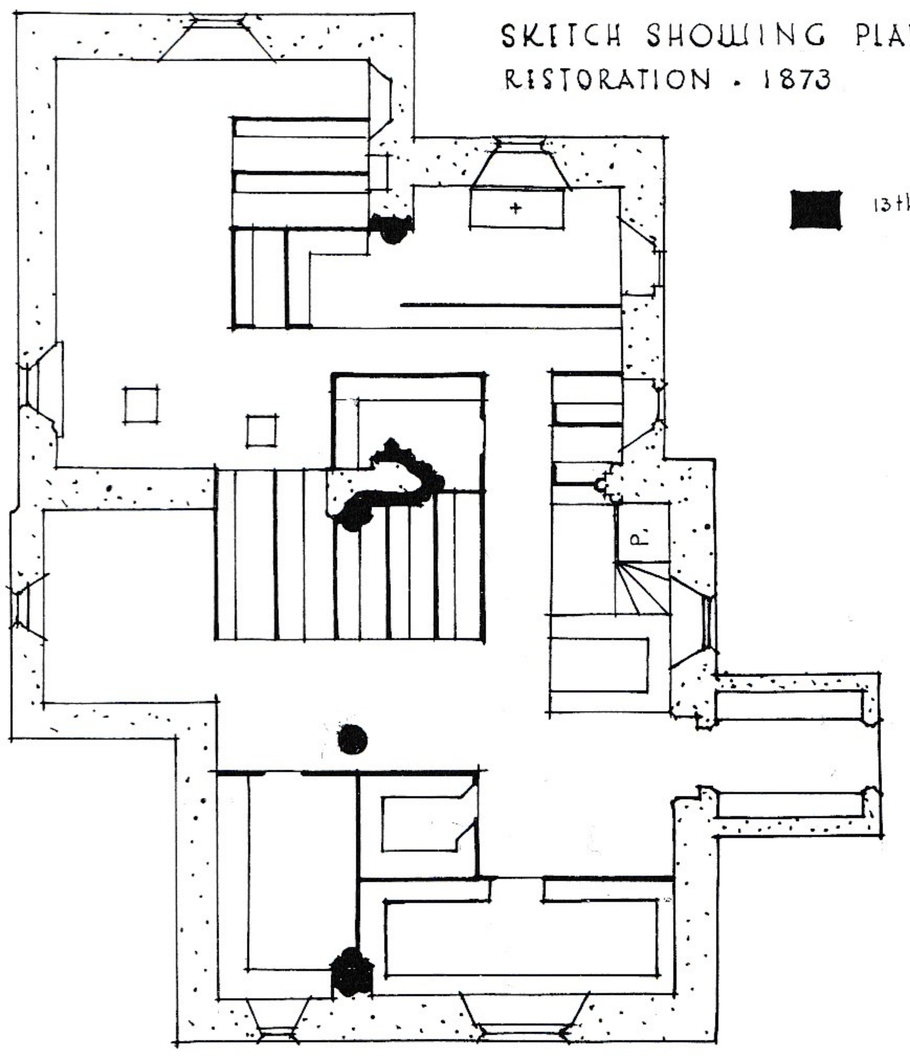
Conservative high churchmen were reluctant to approve the introduction of hymns into Anglican services, regarding them as not being sanctioned by the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Evangelicals supported the introduction of hymns. At Catherington a note in the parish register dated 12 February 1835 listed the names of those parishioners who had purchased a total of 37 hymnbooks for themselves, their families and their servants. The Evangelical character of this parish is further indicated by lists of donations towards missionary work totalling £34 6s 11d in 1833.[74]

The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches

The ecclesiological revolution of the late nineteenth century dramatically altered the interiors of most Anglican churches with the result that there are now very few which retain the type of church interior with which eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century congregations would have been familiar. In the 18 ancient parishes of south-east Hampshire the only church to have retained the majority of its eighteenth-century furnishings is Idsworth, though an imaginative restoration by H. S. Goodhart-Rendel in 1912 included the addition of 'new fittings which are almost indistinguishable from the old ones, so that the interior has at first sight a deceptively unrestored appearance' when 'in fact it is a model of self-conscious restoration'.[75] All the other pre-1830 churches have been extensively altered and some completely rebuilt. Some of the pre-1830 arrangements are, however, known from surviving plans or illustrations. The primary liturgical focus of all Anglican churches before the ecclesiological revolution was on the pulpit and the reading desk, from which most of the service was conducted. The secondary focus was on the altar table, which was usually separated from the body of the church and had an open space in front, and sometimes to the side, of the altar rails in which the communicants could assemble on sacrament days. During the first half of the nineteenth century an attempt was frequently made to create a single liturgical focus at the east end of the church by placing the pulpit and reading desk on opposite sides of the altar space.

Seating plans at Rowner in 1780 and before restoration, in 1873.
(Reproduced by permission of the Portsmouth Diocesan Board of Finance, CHU 46/4 &10)





The most common liturgical arrangement of Anglican churches before the middle of the nineteenth century was one in which a combined pulpit and reading desk, or a combined pulpit, reading and clerk's desks – the so-called three-decker pulpit – was placed in one of the eastern corners of the nave and seating, normally in the form of closed or box pews, arranged to face them. This arrangement is shown in an illustration of St Mary's, Portsea, prior to its rebuilding in 1843,[76] and in the surviving plans of the churches at Blendworth in 1759,[77] Rowner in 1780[78] and Idsworth in 1795.[79] The churches at Blendworth and Idsworth both had west galleries; the church at Rowner did not but at the west end of the nave there were special seats for singers and for women being churched after childbirth. At Holy Trinity, Gosport, the pulpit and reading desk were placed in the middle of the north side of the nave, with the seating between them and the altar rails facing west.[80] At St Thomas', Portsmouth, the pulpit and reading desk were placed against the south-east pier of the crossing with the seating facing them from four separate directions, in the chancel, the nave and both transepts. Much of the seating accommodation was in the galleries that ran along most of the external walls.[81]

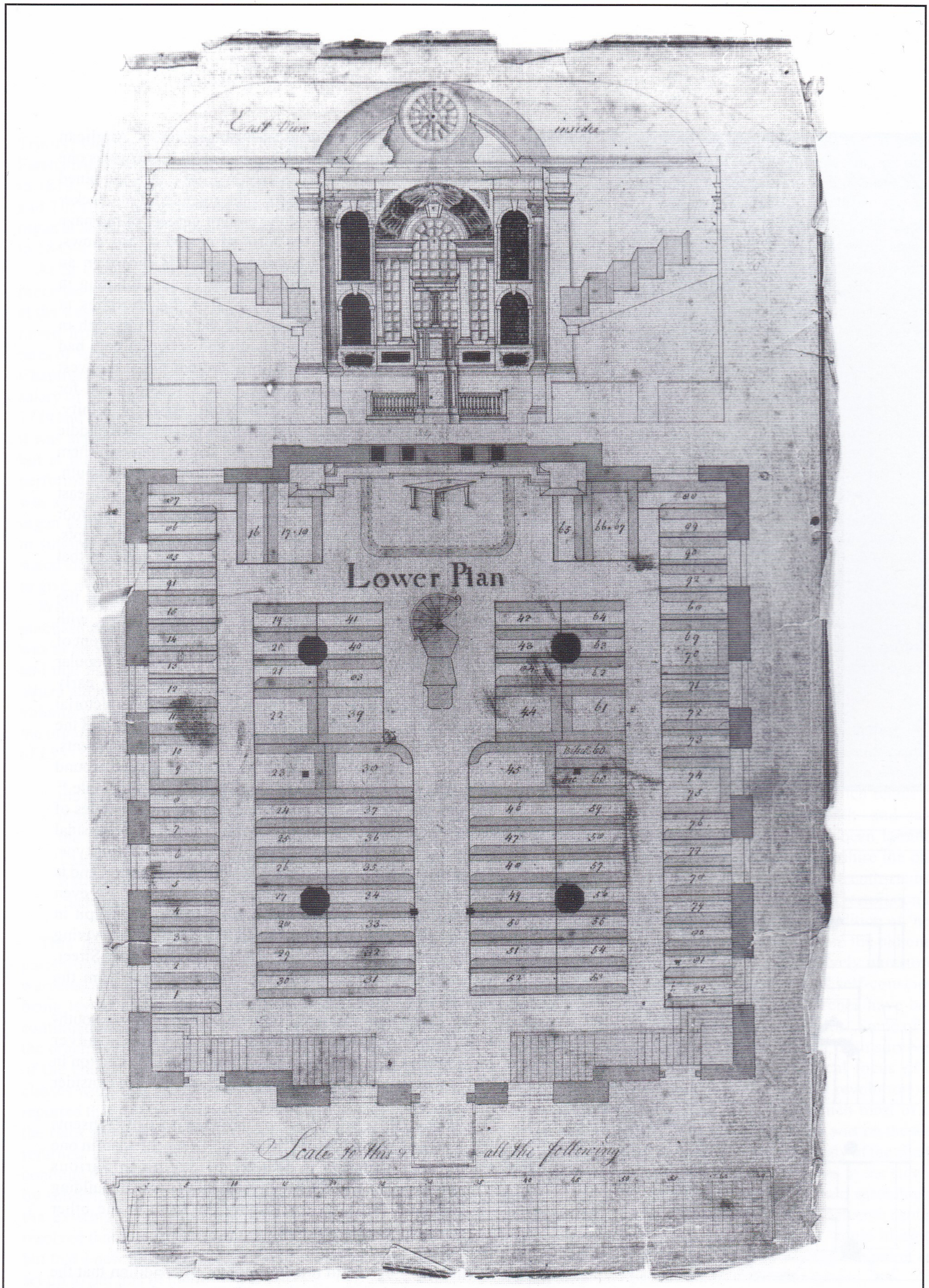
A more radical liturgical arrangement is shown in the surviving plans of St George's and St John's, Portsea, with the pulpit, reading and clerk's desks placed directly in front of the altar. This type of arrangement was particularly popular in new town churches built in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At St George's the plan includes pictorial representations of the pulpit and desks and the east end of the chapel with panels inscribed with the Ten Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer and other scriptural texts placed around the east window and with IHS in a glory over the altar table.[82] At St John's, Portsea, the galleries ran along all four sides of the interior with the organ placed in the gallery over the apsidal sanctuary.[83] A slightly later example of a church of this type, dating from 1812-13, survives at St John's, Chichester, and is now vested in the Churches Conservation Trust.[84] An even later example of a church with a tall three-decker pulpit in front of the altar in Portsmouth can be seen in the surviving plan of the new chapel-of-ease of St Mary in Highbury Street, built in 1837-9, and partly financed by a grant from the Incorporated Church Building Society.[85]

One of the most unusual liturgical arrangements in south-east Hampshire, proposed but almost certainly never implemented, was that under consideration at Warblington in 1827. A meeting of the vestry was held on 5 July to consider

> enlarging the said church by throwing out two Transepts to the North and South; for appropriating the seats in one of the Transepts to Houses belonging to various parishioners, who shall undertake the expence of building the said Transept; for leaving the seats in the other Transept as free Sittings.

The vestry agreed to these proposals on condition that the appropriated seats were in the north transept, that the cost of

Ground floor plan of St George's Chapel, Portsea, as attached to the contract for its construction in 1753. At the top is a view looking down the central aisle towards the east end, showing how the pulpit was to stand immediately before and partly obscuring the altar.
(Reproduced by permission of the Portsmouth Diocesan Board of Finance, CHU 4/2/1)



all future repairs to this transept was met by the seatholders, that the seats should not be provided with locks, linings or curtains, and that the south transept with its free sittings should be kept in repair by the rector. The attached plan showed the nave, aisles and new transepts pewed in a uniform manner with the pulpit placed in the north-east corner of the nave and the reading desk in the south-east corner; the chancel was separated from the rest of the church by three box pews placed along the north and south sides of the central tower.[86] It is likely that the conditions placed by the vestry on the future maintenance of the new transepts, to avoid them becoming a charge on the church rate, was the reason that the proposal, not alluded to in architectural studies of the church building at Warblington, seems to have been abandoned.[87] The church was reseated in 1859.[88]

Charities and Education

The role of the Church of England in the provision of education and social welfare before the beginnings of state involvement in the nineteenth century was extremely significant, and much of this provision was the result of pious benefactions recorded on the charity boards still frequently to be found in parish churches. It was also one of the aspects of parish life most frequently enquired into at episcopal visitations with the result that its extent is well documented. Provision in the parishes of south-east Hampshire, as recorded in the visitations of 1725 and 1788, is summarised in Table 4, and falls somewhat short of the standards in other areas. For example in Kent only 127

Table 4: Charitable provision in south-east Hampshire parishes, 1725 and 1788

Parishes with:	*1725*	*1788*
Schools	6	11
Almshouses	2	2
Bread Charities	1	-
Clothing Charities	1	-
Employment /Apprenticeship Charities	1	1
Distributions to Poor	7	6
Endowed Sermons	1	-
Book /Tract Charities	-	1
No Charities (excl. schools)	10	10
Total Returns	18	17

Source: W. R. Ward, *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Hampshire: Replies to Bishop's Visitations*, Hampshire Record Series 1995

out of 405 parishes had no parochial charities in the late eighteenth century, and the remaining 278 supported a total of 980 separate charities. On the other hand there had clearly been a significant increase in the number of schools in south-east Hampshire, with 65 per cent of parishes having schools in 1788 compared with only 42 per cent in Kent in 1807.[89] Charities established for the purpose of providing distributions to the poor were additional to the statutory provision for poor relief funded through the poor rate. Distributions of this sort were frequently restricted to those that the incumbent and churchwardens regarded as being of good character, and at Portchester in 1824 the vestry resolved not to give any form of poor relief to applicants who were 'in the habit of frequenting public houses or maintaining any description or sort of dog whatsoever'.[90]

Of the charities in the parishes of south-east Hampshire the almshouses at Wymering and Alverstoke had been established, respectively, by Honor Wayte in 1600 and Lambert Peachey in 1693; in 1786 Richard Pitfold left £360 in his will to provide bread for the inmates of the Alverstoke almshouse. The seventeenth-century almshouses that formerly stood in Penny Street, Portsmouth, were re-erected in Highbury Street in 1838. One of the most interesting charitable endowments was that made by John Taylor, the rector of Widley and vicar of Wymering, in 1771; this stipulated that out of the annual income the first £2 should be used for purchasing bibles, prayer books 'and other pious books' for the poor of the two parishes, the second £2 should be used for teaching poor children to read and write, and that any residue should be used for the repair of the almshouses at Wymering. The school at Blendworth, which also served the neighbouring parish of Catherington, was established in 1703 from £200 bequeathed by William Appleford.[91] The school at Alverstoke was established by resolution of the parish vestry in 1711 when it was agreed to build a school and a house for the schoolmaster from the funds left for this purpose by Mrs Joanna Player.[92] In 1770 the Fareham vestry agreed to raise a subscription for a school and to pay a schoolmaster. The school was to teach reading, writing and arithmetic. The master was to pay an annual rent of between £2 and £3 out of his salary for the use of the schoolroom, but the premises were to be maintained by the churchwardens.[93] Seating for schoolchildren was frequently provided in the galleries of parish churches and this seems to have been the case at Fareham where, on 14 April 1846, the vestry approved the payment of £5 4s 'to two proper and efficient persons for the purpose of maintaining decency and order in the galleries . . . during divine service'.[94]

A significant boost was given to elementary education by the establishment of two new bodies in the early nineteenth century. These were the British and Foreign School Society of 1807 and the National Society for Education of 1811. The fact that the former was in theory nondenominational, but in practice nonconformist, whilst the latter was a Church of England institution, led to considerable rivalry between the two bodies which had the effect, in the view of most historians of education, of delaying progress towards a full system of national education.[95] By the late 1840s there were a total of 18 National and six British schools in south-east Hampshire. Whereas the latter were confined to the larger towns, with four in Portsmouth and Portsea, and one each in Fareham and Gosport, there were National schools in the smaller towns and larger villages as well: Alverstoke, Blendworth (incorporating the former free school), Catherington, Emsworth, Forton, Havant, Sarisbury, South Hayling, Titchfield and Wymering. At Portchester 'a National School is about being established

A procession of children at the re-opening of Alverstoke church after restoration in 1834. They almost certainly attended its National School.
(328/1945)

Clanfield Church *by R.H. Ubsdell, 1841. Many of the rectors at Clanfield in the eighteenth century lived elsewhere and employed a curate to celebrate services in the church on their behalf.*
(419/1945/12)

for educating the poor of both sexes'. Idsworth had 'a Free School for boys and girls supported by Jervoise Clerk Jervoise, Esquire' of Idsworth House. Many of the smaller rural parishes – Bedhampton, Chalton, Clanfield, Farlington, Rowner, Warblington and Widley – had, however, failed to make any provision for education before 1850. The only endowed grammar schools were those at Fareham, for 30 boys established under the will of William Price, who died in 1737, and at Portsmouth.[96]

The Growth of Dissent

The Church of England had never, at any time since the Reformation, been able to claim the adherence of all English men and women. Small groups of Roman Catholic recusants survived in many parts of England and were particularly strong in Hampshire and Sussex in the mid-seventeenth century though less so by the late eighteenth century. The reason for recusant strength in this area was the presence of an unusually large number of Roman Catholic landed families such as the Paulets at Basing House, the Brownes at Cowdray and the Howards at Arundel.[97] From the early years of the seventeenth century groups of Protestants who objected to Anglican doctrines and ceremonies had separated themselves from the Church of England and erected their own meeting houses. These increased after 1662 when those clergy who refused to accept the *Book of Common Prayer* were ejected from their benefices. One of those ejected was the vicar of Portsmouth, Benjamin Burgess, who later preached to nonconformist congregations in Portsea Island and Gosport.[98] Nevertheless, as Table 5 shows, the number of those belonging to dissenting religious groups remained very small in south-east Hampshire as they did in England as a whole. Indeed if the returns are accurate, the numbers declined substantially in south-east Hampshire, even in the urban areas, during the eighteenth century. It was the impact of Methodism on the Church of

Table 5: Dissenters as a percentage of the population in south-east Hampshire calculated from the episcopal visitation returns of 1725 and 1788

Parish	*Group*	*1725 (%)*	*1788 (%)*
Alverstoke	Presbyterians	'not great'	-
	Baptists	'very few persons'	-
	Independents	-	chapel seats 700
	Roman Catholics	-	0.5
Bedhampton	Roman Catholics	42.9	7.4
	Protestant Dissenters	-	2.2
Catherington	Roman Catholics	4.7	1.2
Chalton and Idsworth	Roman Catholics	9.8	3.2
Clanfield	Roman Catholics	-	8.7
Fareham	Roman Catholics	0.3	NO
	Protestant Dissenters	7.7	RETURN
Farlington	Roman Catholics	1.1	1.4
Havant	Roman Catholics	6.4	c10.0
	Presbyterians	15.4	c5.0
Portchester	Society of Friends	1.0	'Meeting'
Portsea	Protestant Dissenters	13.3	-
	Roman Catholics	-	0.4
	Baptists	-	1.6
	Independents	-	1.0
	Methodists	-	'Meeting'
	Jews	-	1.5
Portsmouth	Presbyterians	6.3	2.0
	Baptists	1.5	0.5
	Society of Friends	0.3	-
	Roman Catholics	-	0.1
	Methodists	-	1.3
Rowner	Protestant Dissenters	3.3	-
Titchfield and Crofton	Roman Catholics	0.1	-
	Protestant Dissenters	2.0	0.3
Warblington	Roman Catholics	4.0	1.5
	Presbyterians	0.8	0.1
Widley and Wymering	Roman Catholics	c1.6	-

Source: W. R. Ward, *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Hampshire: Replies to Bishop's Visitations*, Hampshire Record Series 1995

England, and its establishment as a separate sect from the 1790s, which eventually made a difference to the number of nonconformist as opposed to Anglican worshippers. The growth of Methodism had the effect of reversing the decline among the older groups of Protestant dissenters. Even so, with the exception of the parishes of Portsea and Portsmouth, Anglicans still significantly outnumbered non-Anglicans in the rest of south-east Hampshire in the mid-nineteenth century.

The expansion of most religious bodies in the early nineteenth century, but in particular those outside the established church, is shown in Table 6, based on the answers to the question about the date of foundation of the church or congregation in the religious census of 1851. The establishment of Methodist congregations and chapels in the first quarter of

Table 6: Known dates of establishment of places of worship in south-east Hampshire and percentage increase in the number of places of worship in the period 1801-50

Denomination	*Established Before 1800*	*Established 1801-25*	*Established 1826-50*	*Percentage Increase 1801-50*
Church of England	25	1	14	60.1
Old dissent:				
(1) Independents	7	5	6	157.1
(2) Baptists	3	4	5	300.0
(3) Unitarians	1	-	-	0.0
(4) Calvinists	1	-	-	0.0
New dissent:				
(1) Wesleyan Methodists	1	6	2	800.0
(2) Primitive Methodists	-	1	-	N/A
(3) Bible Christians	-	1	1	N/A
(4) Wesleyan Methodist Association	-	-	1	N/A
(5) Independent Methodists	-	-	3	N/A
Roman Catholics	3	-	-	0.0
Brethren	-	-	1	N/A

Source: J. A. Vickers, *The Religious Census of Hampshire 1851*, Hampshire Record Series 1993, pp. 3-30, 146-9

the nineteenth century appears to have almost immediately generated new foundations by the major religious groups within 'old dissent', the Independents and Baptists, but the established church did not begin to respond, with a flurry of new foundations, until the second quarter. In the following sections of this paper we will look in more detail at the respective fortunes of the older dissenting congregations in south-east Hampshire as well as the origins of Methodism and its expansion before 1850.

Roman Catholicism

The main centre of Roman Catholic activity in south-east Hampshire in the early eighteenth century was at Brockhampton, in the parish of Havant, where a mission was established in 1711. Philip Caryll of North House, Catherington, provided an endowment for a chaplain in 1715 and in 1741 Bishop Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, visited to confirm 112 people. The total number of attendances at the chapel was then 260, a new chapel being opened to serve this congregation in 1758. Before 1787, when Richard Southworth became the parish priest, chaplaincies were very short. Southworth, who had been professor of theology and vice-president of the English College at Douai, remained at Brockhampton until his death in 1817. John Sone, described

as 'for many years the pillar of this congregation' at his death in 1795, 'left two funds . . . that the incumbent for the time being should say Mass in general, on the Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year . . . that the Catholics might have an opportunity of hearing Mass on those days, on which the Protestants here at Havant have regularly prayers in their Church'.[99] Some concerns about the existence of this chapel were expressed by Bishop Hoadly of Winchester in a letter dated 22 May 1759:

> According to my best Information there is a House, with a Large Chapel, built a few years ago by one Morgan a popish Priest, situated in the manor of Havant . . . and it is a Building which cost Twelve or Fourteen hundred Pounds. All the Papists in and about Portsmouth, and all who come from abroad, or go abroad from thence, make no Secret of going to this Chapel; and generally make a Large Congregation. There is Service twice on Sundays and regularly on Holydays. Morgan died about three months ago. And there are now Two Priests belonging to this Chapel . . . One great reason for giving you this Interruption is because this House is certainly more dangerous than any other House of the same Kind, by reason of its situation, which is so perfectly convenient for sending any Persons abroad with Intellegence, or receiving Intellegence from abroad . . . If I be not misinformed, I have not any Legal Authority lodged in Me either to prevent such Buildings, or to remedy the evil Consequences and great Abuses of them: otherwise I should have done it Myself.[100]

Although the penal laws were no longer strictly enforced, Roman Catholics were still regarded as politically suspect, and their ability to worship severely restricted until the passing of the Catholic Relief Acts in 1778 and 1791; full political emancipation did not come until 1829.[101]

The Brockhampton mission was eventually divided by the establishment of Roman Catholic missions at Gosport and Portsea. The chapel in Gosport was built in 1776 and John Marsland became parish priest in 1788. After the 1789 revolution in France several French *émigré* clergy arrived in Gosport. Richard Southworth of Brockhampton wrote to Bishop Douglass, Vicar Apostolic of the London district, on 17 September 1792:

> I went down last week at Mr Marsland's request, to see them. They asked leave to say Mass, and confess one another. I immediately gave them permission to do so for the present, in compassion to their distress, and amidst the confusion and hurry of their coming every moment.[102]

Marsland was strongly opposed to the establishment of a new Roman Catholic mission at Portsea in 1791, believing that it would diminish his own congregation and lead to the removal of an annuity he received from a Roman Catholic layman in Portsmouth. However Richard Southworth assured Bishop Douglass in 1792 that out of the 130 people attending Roman Catholic services in Portsea, only 27 had previously attended the Gosport chapel. The first Roman Catholic priest in Portsea was John Cahill (1791-4), who was succeeded by Joseph Knapp (1794-9) and Thomas Gabb (1799-1803). A permanent chapel was opened in 1796. The congregation, which was both small and poor, was financially dependent on the generosity of the Portsea linen draper, Tobias Conway, who had paid the annuity to the parish priest in Gosport. The Portsea chapel cost more than £600 and the debt was only repaid with difficulty.[103]

The future of this congregation was at that time very uncertain. It was without a priest between August 1803 and February 1806, when an *émigré* French priest, Abbé François Delarue, was appointed. He remained in Portsmouth until his death in 1827 and also served the chapel in Gosport from 1819. By that time the congregation was secure, having increased to 1,300 by 1842. The picture of Christ stilling the storm on the Sea of Galilee, which served as the altar-piece of the chapel opened in 1796, was carefully preserved when the chapel was eventually demolished, to hang in the sacristy of its successor, the cathedral of the new Roman Catholic diocese of Portsmouth, established in 1882.[104]

Old Dissent

Protestant dissenters from the Church of England were most numerous in the urban or partly-urbanised parishes of Alverstoke, Fareham, Havant, Portsea and Portsmouth. It is estimated that in the second decade of the eighteenth century the Presbyterian chapel in Portsmouth had a congregation of between 730 and 800, and the Independent chapel in Gosport one of between 1,000 and 1,500.[105] An academy for the training of ministers was founded by the minister of the Gosport Independent chapel, David Bogue, in 1789 but 'did not long survive Bogue's death in 1825'. It was criticised by a former student, J. A. James, 'for its low academic standards'; students did not have to pass any examination 'as to piety, talents, or acquirements' and 'Bogue's skills were restricted to theology'.[106] An Independent chapel had been built in Fareham in 1693 but it did not flourish and membership was down to 14 in 1766. In the following year membership increased to 19, but it was down to 11 by 1776, and to five in 1787. The ultimate collapse came in 1809 when the minister, W. J. Fox, began to have doubts about the doctrine of the Trinity, after taking 'books on the Unitarian Controversy to bed with me' and reading them 'for hours with the candle at my pillow'. In 1810 the chapel was sold to the Wesleyan Methodists and Fox became minister of the Unitarian chapel in Chichester in 1812. A new Independent chapel in Fareham was not built until 1836.[107]

The Orange Street Independent Chapel in Portsea began as a congregation of Calvinistic Methodists inspired by the preaching of George Whitefield.[108] It was established in 1769 and Thomas Tupper ordained as the first minister in 1770. The strong Calvinism of its confession of faith, compared with the Arminianism of the Wesleyan Methodists, was confirmed by the agreement of the members

The King Street Chapel, Portsea, was built in 1812-13 to provide bigger premises for the congregation of the Orange Street Independent chapel. A locally-published lithograph by Stockman and Fudge.
(7P/1987)

that if any of the Persons in Connection with Mr Wesley are desirous of sitting down with us at the Lord's table it be granted after their having given sufficient evidence of their being born again, professing their faith in Christ and purpose to walk in love, and be admitted as occasional communicants.

Indeed whilst a permanent chapel was being built in 1772-3 the congregation used the Wesleyan meeting house. Seats in the new chapel were assigned to subscribers in proportion to their subscription. It was agreed

> that the property of the pews be confined to the purchasers and their children and children's children successively as long as they regularly fill them up. But they are not to lett or sell them on any account whatever and if they should chuse no longer to attend here, or are removed in a course of providence, the pews to become the property of the church again during their absence for to be filled up.

There were three Sunday services, in the morning, afternoon and evening and in 1782 it was agreed to appoint an assistant minister.

The chapel exercised a rigorous discipline over its members extending to the most minor incidents of what was judged to be improper conduct. The two following illustrations are chosen at random from the many such references in the church book.

> 30 March 1791: The Church having taken into their serious consideration the case of Mr Chapman, and after having heard the charge exhibited against him, and his defence in answer to these charges, are of opinion that his conduct has not been consistent with profession of the gospel and therefore resolve that he be suspended from the Lord's Table until he shall discover marks of true repentance for his misconduct, and that the officers of the Church inform him of the decision of the Church Meeting prior to next Lord's Day.

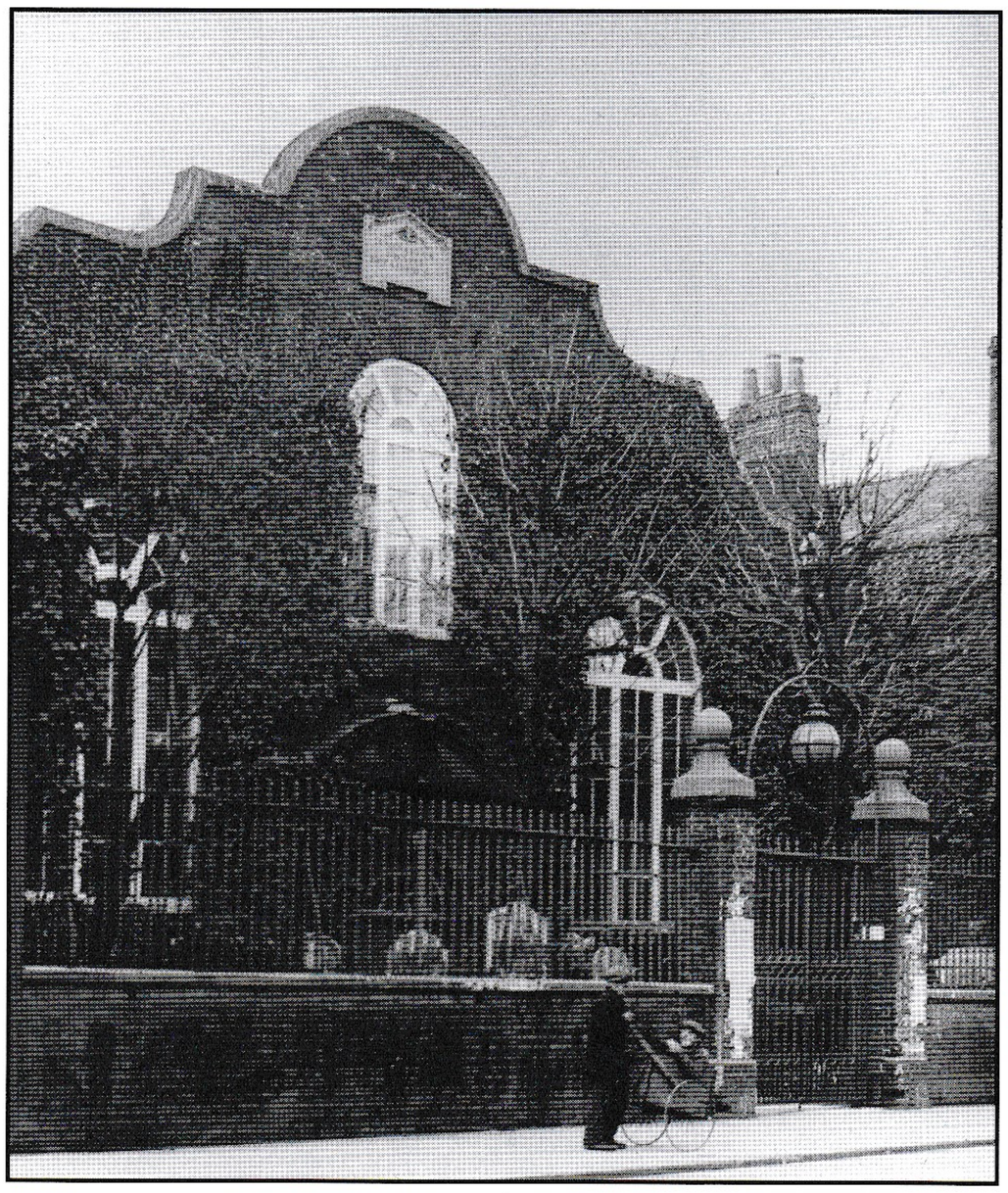
> 1 December 1800: It being reported to the Church on the most incontestable evidence that John Young has been guilty of the Sin of fornication with his late wife's sister who bore him a child in about four months after he married her, the Church after maturely considering the question whether he be suspended till he has given proofs of repentance or that he be excommunicated, resolved unanimously that he be excommunicated.

A detailed account also survives, dated 30 December 1805, of the enquiry into the morality of a husband and wife, after the former admitted adultery when both parties were found to have contracted a venereal disease.[109]

By 1805 the minister and deacons of the Orange Street Chapel were receiving more applications for sittings than they could accommodate and it was agreed to hold a prayer meeting to seek God's guidance on what should be done. The final outcome was the building of the new King Street Chapel. The new chapel was opened in 1813 after several loans had been taken out to secure its completion. The total cost of the new chapel was £10,855 18s 5d. Donations and subscriptions totalled £7,629 5s 0¼d, the loans totalled £2,995 and the balance was made up from the sale of materials in the Orange Street Chapel, which was to be used as a meeting place for the Sunday school. During the first years of its operation the King Street Chapel ran at a deficit and further loans had to be taken out to meet the expenses. By 1825 the annual income began to exceed the annual expenditure but the loans taken out were not fully repaid until the 1850s.[110]

The first Baptist chapel in Portsmouth was opened in 1693 and rebuilt in 1715, though it did not have a baptistery until 1750, earlier converts being baptised by total immersion in a large pond on a farm at Milton. The rivalry between the Baptist and Presbyterian chapels in Portsmouth led to a public disputation between the members of the respective congregations in 1698. A Baptist chapel was opened in Portsea in 1704, and had a membership of some thirty to forty in 1728. This chapel in Kent Street was enlarged in 1758 and again in 1796. Missions were established from the Kent Street Chapel at Green Row in 1800, Forton in 1807, Southsea (Ebenezer Chapel) in 1808, Landport in 1813 and Salem Street in 1813-14. At Kent Street the long, overlapping, ministries of John Lacy (1733-81), Joseph Horsey (1774-1802) and Daniel Miall (1774-1829) built up a large membership. This totalled 147 in 1782 and over 300 in 1826, when the Sunday congregation averaged over 700 and there were 1,700 children in the three Sunday schools.

The Unitarian chapel in High Street, Portsmouth, photographed about 1900.
(147/1995)



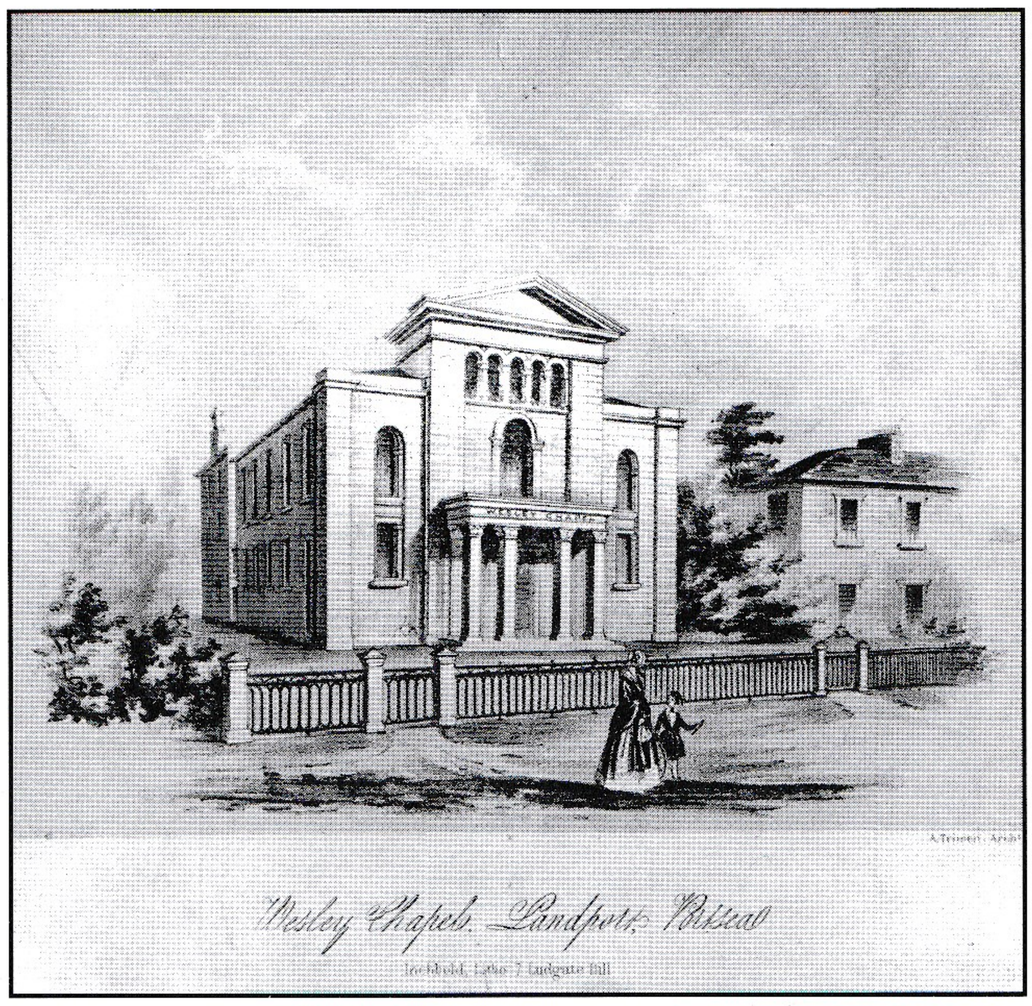
Although the early nonconformists had strongly disapproved of the ceremonial of the Church of England, their own services and provision for worship were not very different. Whereas in Anglican churches the psalms were lined, that is repeated line by line after the parish clerk, the hymns were lined at Kent Street Chapel and an experiment for the hymns to be sung without lining was quickly abandoned in 1776. Orchestral accompaniment to the singing was introduced at the Kent Street Chapel in 1814 and an organ in 1833.[111] The proposed design of the new Independent chapel at Fareham in 1836 included an elaborate 'Gothick' reredos and a tall three-decker pulpit, covered with the type of hangings familiar in Anglican churches, but the communion table was placed in front of, rather than behind, the pulpit.[112]

Politically the most influential of the nonconformist churches in Portsmouth in the early nineteenth century was the former Presbyterian chapel in the High Street, which had become Unitarian during the eighteenth century. On 12 January 1834 the congregation resolved to support a memorial to the government arguing for the provision of civil registration of births, marriages and deaths; the removal of the exclusion of nonconformists from the universities at Oxford and Cambridge; the abolition of church rates so that dissenters might 'be released from all contributions to the support of a Church whose Doctrines or whose Discipline they disapprove'; and legislation to permit the burial of nonconformists in parochial burial grounds and the solemnisation of such funerals by non-conformist clergy. Whilst the first of these demands was quickly conceded, the others remained grievances for nonconformists until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. The chapel and the salary of the minister was financed from pew rents. In 1844 these were revalued so that they ranged from 1s 6d to 3s 6d a quarter for each sitting, the most expensive seats being those in the front of the gallery and the least expensive being those near the entrance. A temporary decline in the congregation had resulted in the reduction of the minister's salary from £160 to £140 each year in 1831, but by 1842 the annual report records that the congregation was 'increasing both in number and in usefulness' as a result of sermons delivered by visiting ministers from London. The chapel also had a successful Sunday school, with a total of 60 children of which 'the attendance is pretty regular' in 1839. In 1844 the chapel library contained a total of 1,400 volumes and subscribed to various periodicals including the *Christian Reformer, Christian Pioneer, British Christian* and *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*.

The ministry was a remarkably stable one. Russell Scott had been appointed in 1788 and retired, as a result of ill-health, in 1833. His successor was appointed by a committee elected by the congregation which wrote to several respected ministers throughout England to recommend suitable names. As a result Henry Hawkes was invited to preach to the congregation and subsequently appointed. Significant improvements to the chapel were made during the second quarter of the nineteenth century: a cloth was purchased for the communion table in 1827; a stove 'for the purpose of warming the Chapel during the winter months' was acquired in 1830; and subscriptions were raised during 1839 to light the chapel with gas. During 1846 an organ was installed at a cost of £180 to replace the older singing led by a precentor. The congregation agreed 'that each candidate for the situation of organist play three Sundays previous to an election'. In 1847 it was agreed to engage three professional singers at an annual cost of £2 to lead the congregational singing, and that the congregation should stand for this instead of sitting. In a further move calculated to push the chapel in a more Anglican direction, one common in other Unitarian congregations during the 1840s, it was also agreed to hold a service on Christmas Day.[113]

Whilst Presbyterian and Independent chapels tended to appeal to the same, generally upper and upper-middle, classes who formed the bulk of those attending the services of the Church of England, other groups of nonconformists, such as the Baptists and some branches of Methodism, had more appeal for the lower-middle and lower classes. The trustees of the St Thomas Street Baptist Chapel, Portsmouth, in 1797 included James Brent, a 'yeoman of Milton', but the remainder were either shopkeepers or artisans: a pawnbroker, joiner, builder, leather cutter, hatter, watchmaker and painter. This was another congregation that imposed a strong discipline on its members. On 23 September 1798 Mrs Howser was suspended from fellowship and communion 'for improper conduct and disorderly walking'. Although the chapel was very exclusive in its attitude to membership, with only 19 men and 22 women being admitted between 1777 and 1819, the members agreed by eight votes to one on 31 January 1802 to reinstate open

The 'Wesley Chapel, Landport', the third Methodist place of worship in Portsmouth, erected in Arundel Street in 1845.
(176/1964)



communion, suspended during the previous year, and that seats in the chapel should 'be lett to aid its Finances'. The poverty and weakness of the membership is indicated by the fact that three members had emigrated to America (noted in 1819) and the weekly lectures were suspended in 1822, 'deaths, removals and emigrations having enfeebled our means'.[114] Another Baptist chapel to exercise a strong discipline over its members was that in Clarence Street, Portsea, founded in 1798. All those seeking admission to membership had to assent to a covenant which required them to

> solemnly give yourself to the Lord . . . strive to regulate your temper and conduct . . . to the end of your Life . . . to be diligent in making good your place at Communion . . . [and] in your attendance upon . . . the Ministry of the Word of God in this place . . . to be careful not to speak of our Church affairs to those who are not Members of the Society.

All members were in 1821 required to contribute at least one penny a week to the chapel, except those exempted by the deacons on the grounds of poverty. In 1826 it was agreed that no person should be admitted to membership until the deacons had satisfied themselves that they were of good character, and two members were suspended for, respectively, gambling and drunkenness. Disciplinary action was not, however, taken against members without clear proof of their guilt. In May 1828 the congregation considered Mr Breaks' allegations against Sister Langrish and agreed

> that she be considered innocent in . . . that there is no evidence that can be deemed sufficient to convict her of allowing Mr ——— to take indecent liberties with her person, and that if any member or members after this shall go on to maintain she is so guilty, they shall be treated as troublers of the Church, and, without immediate repentance, shall be separated from the Society, see Gal[atians] 5.12

There was clearly a problem with some members being admitted and later drifting away. In 1827 it was agreed that 'those persons who have not filled up their places for a considerable time shall be visited', and in 1828 it was resolved that sittings that were consistently unoccupied could be let to others.[115]

New Dissent

Methodism had its adherents in south-east Hampshire by the middle of the eighteenth century. John Wesley first visited Portsmouth in 1753, returning in 1758 and virtually every year between 1767 and his death in 1791. A permanent chapel was opened in 1768 and in 1790 Portsmouth became the centre of a new Methodist circuit, the area having previously been part of the Salisbury circuit. By 1805 the Methodist societies in Portsmouth and Portsea had a total membership of 385. In 1800 the Methodists bought the St Peter's Chapel in Portsea, which had been erected in 1787 by a group of Evangelical Anglicans disaffected from Portsea parish church.[116] This building had been described by Dr John Ballard, the vicar of Portsea, in 1788, as

> a place of worship lately built to which is given the name of Saint Peter's, the preacher John Pennington. He uses the services of the Church with such alterations only as enable him to avail himself of the Toleration Act, having taken the oaths prescribed by that act to dissenting teachers. He calls himself a true-Church of England man. The number of his followers not to be ascertained.[117]

Although John Wesley had always seen the Methodist movement as being one within the Church of England, hence the use of the term 'society' to describe its congregations, Methodists gradually withdrew from the Church of England after his death and became a new nonconformist sect. Methodism outside the Church of England followed the pattern of earlier nonconformity in being prone to secessions and schisms. The two main branches of non-Wesleyan Methodism, the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians, both established missions in Portsmouth. Outside Portsmouth the Wesleyan Methodists built or acquired chapels at Gosport in 1810, Fareham in 1812, Alverstoke in 1817 and Havant in 1833.[118]

The Religious Census of 1851

Table 7 shows the results of the religious census of 1851 in the registration districts of Alverstoke, Catherington, Fareham, Havant and Portsea Island. These have been adjusted slightly where necessary to cover defective returns and the attendance calculations follow the practice of other scholars in assuming that about a third of those attending church on Sundays did so

St Paul's church, Southsea, built 1820-22 with funds provided by the parliamentary commission for building new churches. The architect, Francis Goodwin, used cast iron for the window tracery. The church was bombed in 1941. An etching by the Portsmouth artist James Calcott.
(632/1964)

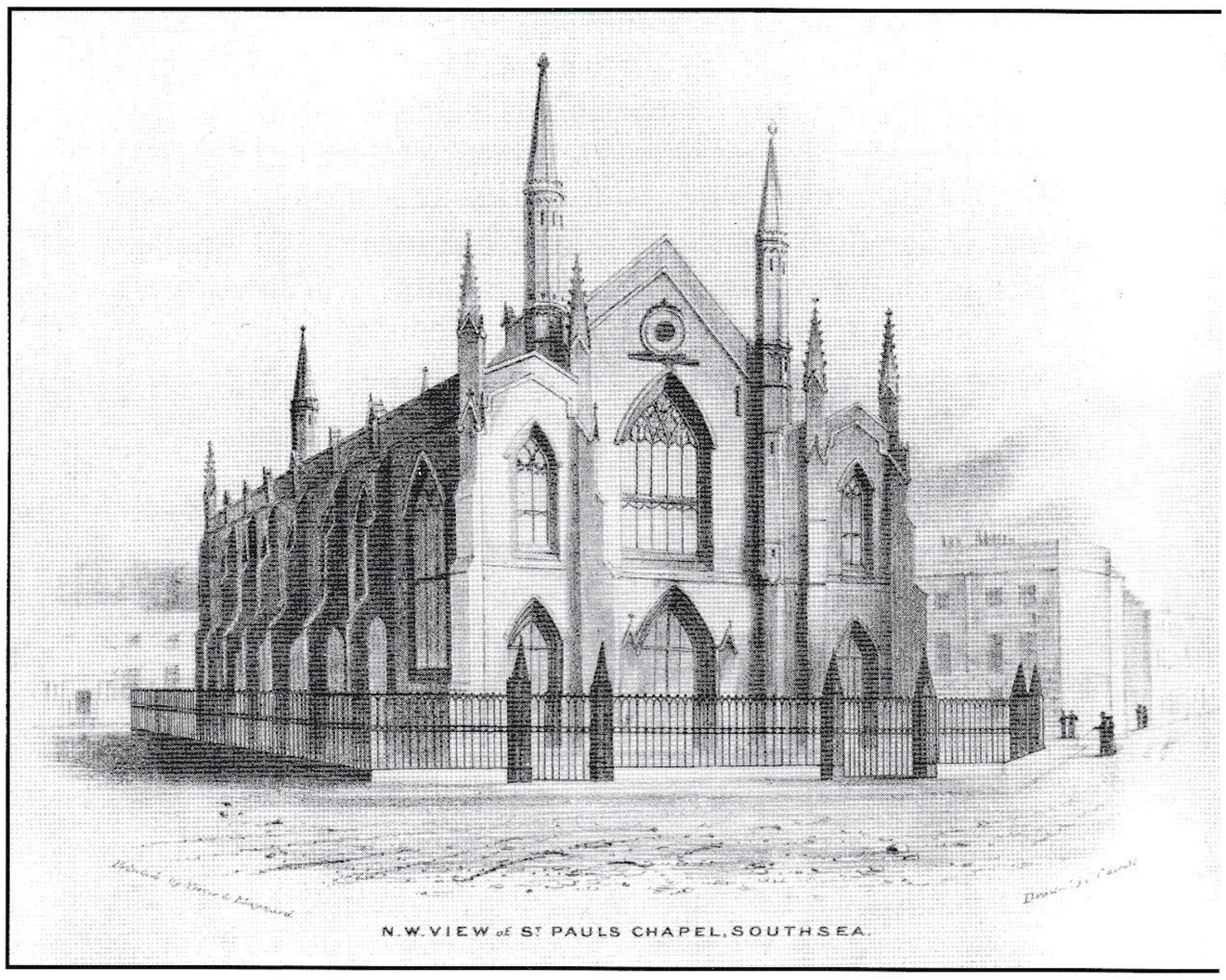


Table 7: Religious census of south-east Hampshire, 1851

Registration Districts And Denominations	*Places of Worship*	*Sittings per Population(%)*	*Estimated Attendance per Population (%)*
ALVERSTOKE			
Church of England	7	42.2	28.3
Independents	3	11.4	8.1
Baptists	2	2.2	3.4
Methodists	3	6.7	4.6
Roman Catholics	1	N/A	1.4
Others	2	2.0	1.1
Totals	18	64.5+	46.9
CATHERINGTON			
Church of England	6	c100.0	57.9
Independents	2	8.8	10.5
Methodists	3	11.6	19.2
Totals	11	c120.4	87.6
FAREHAM			
Church of England	10	41.1	40.7
Independents	5	9.6	14.2
Baptists	1	1.0	0.6
Methodists	1	1.9	0.7
Totals	17	53.6	56.2
HAVANT			
Church of England	9	54.6	47.0
Independents	4	13.1	9.1
Baptists	1	2.8	4.3
Methodists	1	1.4	1.1
Roman Catholics	1	N/A	1.4
Others	1	N/A	0.4
Totals	17	71.9+	63.3
PORTSEA ISLAND			
Church of England	11	16.2	17.2
Independents	6	5.8	7.3
Baptists	11	5.2	5.9
Methodists	8	4.6	6.1
Roman Catholics	1	0.8	1.3
Others	4	1.3	0.8
Totals	41	33.9	38.6

Source: J. A. Vickers (ed), *The Religious Census of Hampshire, 1851*, Hampshire Record Series 1993, pp. 3-30, 146-9

more than once. Overall the results are generally in line with those for England as a whole, with the best attendances in the villages and small towns and the worst ones in the large cities. Clearly there was a shortage of church accommodation in Portsmouth and Portsea, though it is unlikely that attendances would have been much, or indeed any, higher had more accommodation been available. One interesting figure is the relatively poor support for Methodist places of worship, though this was very much in line with the weakness of Methodism generally in the southern counties of England apart from Cornwall. The other interesting figure is the generally good showing for the established Church of England; even in Portsmouth and Portsea, where Anglicans were slightly out-numbered by non-Anglicans, the established church was stronger than in many other large urban communities.

Conclusion: The Main Religious Trends in Portsmouth and South-East Hampshire, 1660-1850

Although the established Church of England was subject to growing competition from nonconformity in Portsmouth and south-east Hampshire after 1800, it remained in a very strong position throughout most of this area. Support for non-conformity in the urban areas was almost certainly related to the inability of the established church to respond to the growth in population with a sufficient programme of church extension and parish division until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Even support for nonconformity, however, was restricted by the fact that most seats in the chapels were rented and membership was dependent, in many cases, on adherence to strict discipline from which not even the most insignificant lapses were tolerated.

The lack of any real objective evidence before the religious census of 1851 makes it difficult to estimate the real strength of religious practice across either rural or urban communities, or indeed to what extent this may have declined over the two centuries before the census. The evidence from the visitation returns, however, suggests that in most respects the Church of England in the parishes of south-east Hampshire conformed to the national and regional norms. The two areas in which there appears to have been some variation from this was in the relatively high number of clergy holding livings in plurality, not all of which they were able to serve personally, and in the relatively low number of parochial charities. The evidence from the parish records, where they exist, suggests that the high standards of care for the fabrics and furnishings of church buildings, which applied nationally, were being maintained in

the parishes of south-east Hampshire though there is also some evidence to indicate a reluctance from time to time to meet the costs of maintaining such high standards or of providing for all the requirements of public worship.

One very noticeable difference between south-east Hampshire in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the same area a century later, was the disappearance of the strong communities of Roman Catholics in the eastern mainland parishes. Although the total number of Roman Catholics in the whole area had slightly expanded they were much more widely dispersed than they had been and not just concentrated in those parishes adjacent to the Brockhampton Mission. Protestant dissent was, however, less widely dispersed. In the early eighteenth century non-conformists were not so heavily concentrated in the ancient parishes of Portsea and Portsmouth as they had become by the middle years of the nineteenth century.

There is very little indication in the surviving evidence that the pastoral outlook of the Church of England in the parishes of south-east Hampshire was greatly different in the 1840s from what it had been in the 1660s. The diocesan reform programmes of the early nineteenth century and the parliamentary legislation of the 1830s took some time to implement. Some parishes in south-east Hampshire in the 1840s, such as Catherington and Portchester, still had incumbents who had been appointed 40 years earlier. Apart from the growth of Methodism, and its impact on the older branches of dissent, the Evangelical revival seemed to have had remarkably little impact within the established church, and there were no signs of early Tractarian activity in south-east Hampshire before 1850. In that sense the Church of England in south-east Hampshire was a very conservative institution in the 1840s. The 'Anglican revival' in this area was, as I have argued elsewhere, very much a feature of the second half of the nineteenth century and this is clearly confirmed by the research undertaken for this paper.[119] What, however, it is important to underline is that the description conservative does not imply that the established church was inactive or inefficient. The growth in Protestant dissent was, however, a reaction to Anglican conservatism and the unwillingness of the Anglican leadership to address at least some of the religious priorities of a new generation in a period of fundamental economic, political and social change.

GUIDE TO FURTHER READING

The purpose of this guide is to draw the attention of the reader to the major publications which have appeared over the last 40 years or so on the religious history of England between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, together with some of the studies that relate religious events to contemporary political and social history.

The early seventeenth-century background

Fundamental to any understanding of seventeenth century religious history are the seminal works by P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, Oxford 1982, and *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, London 1988. A very useful collection of essays is K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church*, London 1993. The development of a distinctively Anglican theology in the early seventeenth century, and its practical implications, are dealt with by N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism*, Oxford 1987, and J. Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church*, Oxford 1992.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

The two most important works on the late seventeenth century are I. M. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England*, Oxford 1978, and J. Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689*, New Haven and London 1991. For the early eighteenth century the most important study is W. M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge 1996.

General overviews, c.1660-1850

There is no single volume which covers every aspect of the religious history of this period but the following are all useful: W. Gibson, *The Church of England, 1688-1832*, London 2001; A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England*, London 1976; P. Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence*, Cambridge 1989; and J. Walsh, C. Haydon and S. Taylor (eds), *The Church of England, c. 1689-c.1833*, Cambridge 1993.

The theology of the period, both Anglican and non-Anglican, is well covered in E. G. Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791*, Oxford 1986. For liturgical matters the best guides are H. Davies, *Worship and Theology in England, Volume III, 1690-1850*, Princeton 1961, and W. N. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: the Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900*, 2nd edn, Oxford 2000.

The political background, and the relationship between church and state, is well covered in J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832*, Cambridge 1985; L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, New Haven and London 1992; and D. Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge 1996.

The best overview of Roman Catholicism in this period is by J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850*, London 1975. The study of nonconformity has been transformed by the two splendid volumes by M. R. Watts, *The Dissenters: from the Reformation to the French Revolution*,

Oxford 1978, and *The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity*, Oxford 1995.

The Evangelical Revival

This is a topic which has generated a considerable and valuable literature in recent years. See especially D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, London 1989; I. Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, London 1976; G. Carter, *Anglican Evangelicals*, Oxford 2001; T. C. F. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, Edinburgh 2000; and W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, Cambridge 1992.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

A seminal work, though now a little dated, is W. O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church: Part I, 1829-1860*, London 1966. Very readable, but occasionally idiosyncratic, is E. R. Norman, *Church and Society in England, 1770-1970*, Oxford 1976. Despite its title, W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850*, London 1972, concentrates very heavily on nonconformity and the growth of Methodism. It can be usefully supplemented by D. Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850*, London 1984.

The political and social background to the religious reforms of the early nineteenth century are dealt with in W. Gibson, *Church, State and Society, 1760-1850*, London 1994; U. Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833*, London 1961; R. Hole, *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England, 1760-1832*, Cambridge 1989; and R. J. Solloway, *Prelates and People*, London 1969.

The church-generated reforms of this period are well surveyed in A. Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England*, Oxford 1999, and F. Knight, *The Nineteenth-century Church and English Society*, Cambridge 1995. The state-generated reforms receive similar detailed treatment in G. F. A. Best, *Temporal Pillars*, Cambridge 1964, and O. J. Brose, *Church and Parliament*, Stanford and London 1959.

The theological developments of the period among Anglican high churchmen are dealt with in P. B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, Cambridge 1994; the Sunday school movement in T. W. Lacqueur, *Religion and Respectability*, New Haven and London 1976; and the background to the religious census of 1851 in K. D. M. Snell and P. S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: the Geography of Victorian Religion*, Cambridge 2000. E. R. Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1984, provides a good overview of its subject.

Local studies

There are a number of works that deal with various aspects of religious life in Portsmouth in these centuries. For the Anglican community see J. R. Capper (ed.), *Holy Trinity: Church, Parish and People*, Gosport 1980; S. Quail, G. Barratt and C. Chessun (eds), *Consecrated to Prayer: A Centenary History of St Mary's, Portsea 1889-1989*, Portsmouth 1989; S. Quail and A. Wilkinson (eds), *Forever Building: Essays to Mark the Completion of the Cathedral Church of St Thomas of Canterbury*, Portsmouth 1995; W. N. Yates, *The Anglican Revival in Victorian Portsmouth*, Portsmouth Paper 37, 1983, and W. N. Yates, *Ritual Conflict at Farlington and Wymering*, Portsmouth Paper 28, 1978.

Roman Catholics and nonconformists have been studied in V. J. L. Fontana, *The Rebirth of Roman Catholicism in Portsmouth*, Portsmouth Paper, 56, 1989; W. D. Cooper, *Methodism in Portsmouth 1750-1932*, Portsmouth Paper 18, 1973, and S. S. Cohen, *Thomas Wren, Portsmouth's Patron of American Liberty*, Portsmouth Paper 57, 1991.

Church music is considered in F. Warren and I. Cockman, *Music in Portsmouth, 1789-1842*, Portsmouth Paper 69, 1998, and P. Barrett, *The Organs and Organists of the Cathedral Church of St Thomas of Canterbury at Portsmouth*, Portsmouth Paper 4, 1968, revised 1975. Church building is dealt with in R. Hubbuck, *Portsea Island Churches*, Portsmouth Paper 8, 1969, revised 1976, and D. Lloyd, *Buildings of Portsmouth and its Environs*, Portsmouth 1974.

NOTES

[1] These returns are printed in W. R. Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Hampshire: Replies to Bishops' Visitations*, Hampshire Record Series, xiii, 1995

[2] The figures for 1725, 1765 and 1788 have been calculated from the visitation returns, with further reference to entries in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses,* and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*

[3] Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses to 1751*, i, p. 332

[4] Yalden was lecturer in moral philosophy at Magdalen College, Oxford, rector of Sopworth (Wilts), prebendary in the collegiate church at Chulmleigh (Devon), master of Bridewell and chaplain to the Duke of Beaufort, see Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, p. 1698

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 330

[6] Denison succeeded his father as Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1756, and as rector of Chalton and Clanfield, holding all three appointments until his death in 1786 at the age of sixty. See Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886*, p. 362

[7] For Taylor's career see W. N. Yates, 'Church and Community, 1714-1868', in S. Quail and A. Wilkinson (eds), *Forever Building: Essays to Mark the Completion of the Cathedral Church of St Thomas of Canterbury*, Portsmouth 1995, pp. 55-6

[8] Henville, who was rector of Rowner from 1760 until his death in 1805 at the age of 70, was also non-resident rector of Haydon (Dorset), see Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, 1752-1900*, iii, p. 334

[9] Sturges was prebendary at both St Paul's and Winchester cathedrals, becoming subdean of the latter in 1798; he was also a chaplain-in-ordinary to King George III. See Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 1,370

[10] Tew (1736-1818) was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1757-71 and of Eton College from 1781 until his death, becoming bursar in 1788 and vice-provost in 1802; in addition to the rectory of Farlington he also held the vicarage of Mapledurham (Oxon) from 1800; he translated Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* into Greek verse. See Venn, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 144

[11] Taylor was Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, 1769-84 and, in addition to his Hampshire livings, was also vicar of Ashington (Sussex) until his death in 1791. See *ibid.*, vi, p. 128

[12] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 314

[13] Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 647

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 752

[15] City Museum and Records Office, Portsmouth **[hereafter PCMRO]**, CHU 23/3/36

[16] PCMRO, CHU 42/4A/3

[17] W. N. Yates, 'The Financial Problems of Gosport Chapel in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in J. R. Capper (ed.), *Holy Trinity: Church, Parish and People*, Gosport 1980, pp. 13-20, 39-40

[18] PCMRO, CHU 4/2/1

[19] PCMRO, CHU 5/2/2, pp. 79-80, 82-5, 91-2, 197

[20] Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 166

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 216

[22] PCMRO, CHU 26/2A/1

[23] PCMRO, CHU 3/2A/4

[24] PCMRO, CHU 29/3/1

[25] PCMRO, CHU 15/3A/1

[26] Hampshire Record Office, 37M73/PV1

[27] PCMRO, CHU 42/4A/1

[28] PCMRO, CHU 42/4A/2

[29] PCMRO, CHU 42/4A/3

[30] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/1

[31] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/2

[32] PCMRO, CHU 15/3A/1

[33] PCMRO, CHU 42/4A/2

[34] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/1

[35] PCMRO, CHU 27/2B/1

[36] PCMRO, CHU 27/2B/1

[37] PCMRO, CHU 42/3B/1

[38] PCMRO, CHU 43/28/4

[39] A. G. Veysey, 'Sir Stephen Glynne, 1807-74', *Journal of the Flintshire Historical Society*, xxx, 1981-2, pp. 151-70

[40] Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne, vol. 29, pp. 83-4

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 75-6, 78-9, 81

[42] *Ibid.*, vol. 28, p. 31

[43] PCMRO, CHU 52/2A/1

[44] PCMRO, CHU 52/2B/1

[45] PCMRO, CHU 44/5A/3

[46] PCMRO, CHU 44/5C/1

[47] PCMRO, CHU 44/2A/1

[48] PCMRO, CHU 44/5C/5

[49] PCMRO, CHU 3/2A/5. For previous assessments of Stewart see S. Quail, G. Barratt and C. Chessun (eds), *Consecrated to Prayer: A Centenary History of St Mary's, Portsea, 1889-1989*, Portsmouth 1989, pp. 22, 26-7

[50] Yates in *Forever Building*, p. 59

[51] PCMRO, CHU 5/2/2, pp. 46-52

[52] PCMRO, CHU 4/2/1

[53] PCMRO, CHU 42/3B/1

[54] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/1

[55] PCMRO, CHU 15/3A/1

[56] Hampshire Record Office, 37M73/PV1. Dr James Thomas informs me, from his knowledge of contemporary newspapers, that this violation of Titchfield church was probably the work of a gang striking at churches in a systematic fashion.

[57] PCMRO, CHU 4/2/1

[58] PCMRO, CHU 5/2/2, p. 161

[59] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/4

[60] PCMRO, CHU 82/1/1

[61] PCMRO, CHU 84/1/1

[62] PCMRO, CHU 19/2/3

[63] *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, iii, 1908, pp. 84, 108, 206, 215; see also P. R. P. Braithwaite, *The Church Plate of Hampshire*, London and Winchester 1909, pp. 55-73, 172-88, 236-57

[64] Yates in *Forever Building*, pp. 57, 60-1. See also F. Warren and I. Cockman, *Music in Portsmouth, 1789-1842*, Portsmouth Paper 69, 1998

[65] Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne, vol. 28, p. 33; vol. 29, pp. 76, 81

[66] PCMRO, CHU 4/2/1

[67] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/1

[68] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/2

[69] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/3

[70] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/4

[71] PCMRO, CHU 19/2/3

[72] Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne, vol. 29, p. 79

[73] PCMRO, CHU 44/2A/1

[74] PCMRO, CHU 41/1A/7

[75] N. Pevsner and D. Lloyd, *The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Harmondsworth 1967, p. 306

[76] *Consecrated to Prayer*, p. 18

[77] PCMRO, CHU 40/2/1

[78] PCMRO, CHU 46/4/1

[79] PCMRO, CHU 39A/2B/1

[80] *Holy Trinity Church, Parish and People*, p. 17

[81] *Forever Building*, pp. 35, 57-8, 79, 81

[82] PCMRO, CHU 4/2/1

[83] PCMRO, CHU 5/2/2

[84] Original plans in West Sussex Record Office, Par 39/64

[85] Lambeth Palace Library, ICBS 2069. This church was demolished in 1921; it had galleries around three sides of the interior

[86] PCMRO, CHU 19/2/3

[87] e.g. *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, iii, 1908, p. 138

[88] W. B. Norris and C. O. Minchin, *Warblington: its Castle and its Church*, Portsmouth 1920, p. 34

[89] W. N. Yates, R. Hume and R. P. Hastings, *Religion and Society in Kent, 1640-1914*, Woodbridge 1994, pp. 35-6, 94-6

[90] PCMRO, CHU 27/2B/1

[91] *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, iii 1908, pp. 84, 172; W. G. Gates, *Illustrated History of Portsmouth*, Portsmouth 1900, pp. 377, 674

[92] PCMRO, CHU 42/4A/1

[93] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/1

[94] PCMRO, CHU 43/2B/4

[95] Yates, Hume and Hastings, *op. cit.*, p. 104

[96] *Post Office Directory of Hampshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex,* London 1847

[97] See J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850*, London 1975, pp. 100-1 and the distribution maps on pp. 404-13

[98] P. Haskell, 'St Thomas's under the Stuarts', in *Forever Building*, p. 44

[99] G. Dwyer, *Diocese of Portsmouth Past and Present*, Southampton 1982, p. 13; R. E. Scantlebury (ed.), *Hampshire Registers III: the Registers and Records of Brockhampton (Havant)*, Catholic Record Society, xliv, 1949, pp. 2-3, 8-9, 131, 133-4

[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 145-6; Revd David Morgan died on 4 November 1758

[101] B. Little, *Catholic Churches since 1623*, London 1966, pp. 34-5, 43

[102] R. E. Scantlebury (ed.), *Hampshire Registers IV: The Registers of Gosport and Portsea*, Catholic Record Society, xlix, 1955, Part I, p. 19; see also *ibid.*, Part I, pp. 2-5

[103] *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 3-5; Dwyer, *op. cit.*, pp.

22-4; V. J. L. Fontana, *The Rebirth of Roman Catholicism in Portsmouth*, Portsmouth Paper 56, 1989, pp. 5-9

[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-20

[105] M. Watts, *The Dissenters from the Reformation to the French Revolution*, Oxford 1978, p. 502

[106] Watts, *The Dissenters: The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity*, Oxford 1995, pp. 270, 275

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 88; W. Champness, *History of the Congregational Church, Fareham, from 1691 to 1891*, Fareham n.d., pp. 4-6; M. Brand, *There am I in the Midst: A Story of Faith, Loyalty and Commitment*, Southampton 1990, pp. 19, 22

[108] Watts, *The Dissenters*, i, p. 453

[109] PCMRO, CHU 91/1

[110] PCMRO, CHU 92/1

[111] F. Ridoutt, *The Early Baptist History of Portsmouth*, Portsmouth 1888, pp. 14-22, 26, 82-90; *A Historical Sketch of Kent Street Baptist Church, Portsea, from 1704 to 1889*, Portsmouth n.d., pp. 2-4, 8-11, 13-14

[112] Brand, *op. cit.*, p. 36

[113] PCMRO, CHU 82/1/1

[114] PCMRO, CHU 83/1

[115] PCMRO, CHU 84/1/1

[116] W. D. Cooper, *Methodism in Portsmouth, 1750-1932*, Portsmouth Paper 18, 1973, pp. 3-5

[117] Ward, *Parson and Parish*, p. 315

[118] Details from J. A. Vickers (ed.), *The Religious Census of Hampshire, 1851*, Hampshire Record Series, xii, 1993, pp. 3-30, 146-9

[119] See W. N. Yates, *The Anglican Revival in Victorian Portsmouth*, Portsmouth Paper 37, 1983

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